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AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
THE OLD STATE HOUSE
OF PENNSYLVANIA

NOW KNOWN AS
THE HALL OF INDEPENDENCE

BY
FRANK M ETTING

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS



American Book Note Co. Phila.

BOSTON
JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY
1876



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RIVERSIDE, CAMBRIDGE:
STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED BY
H. O. HOUGHTON AND COMPANY.

PREFACE.

IN the work that I had "found for my hand to do," it became necessary to examine carefully into the details of the building of the State House of Pennsylvania; much that surprised me came to light not only in the circumstances of its erection but in its subsequent history. Instead of Dr. Kearsley, to whom the credit had been ascribed, I discovered that its Architect and actual Builder was one of the greatest men ever fostered by Pennsylvania; and that every important movement, from the very inception of the efforts of the colonists to assert their constitutional liberty, first assumed shape either within this building or under the shadow of its walls.

A friendly suggestion thrown out induced me to extend still further my investigations, with a view of preserving the information in print in some accessible form.

This desire was enhanced by the hope that the general public would ultimately share in the interest which every brick of this old building possesses for me, and thus be inclined to lend each his individual aid towards its preservation, and to insure its proper custodianship for all time.

The desultory way in which, from causes unnecessary to be detailed, my memoranda have been thrown together, must leave its impress, and I cannot expect to be exempt from inaccuracies; but having done my best without fee or reward, present or prospective, I have no apologies to make to the public for claiming their notice. To those nearer to me, whose social claims have from time to time been put aside, and I now have reason to fear in some cases neglected, from absorption in my work of "restoration," I tender in extenuation this monograph, descriptive of the causes which led me thereunto, but above all others, to him now beyond the reach of my words:—

To

BE 4-7-31

TO
THE MEMORY
OF
BENJAMIN ETTING

I DEDICATE
THIS VOLUME.

F. M. E.

MARCH 27, 1876.

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HISTORY

OF

INDEPENDENCE HALL.

TO tell the story of *the old State House* of Pennsylvania in full would be to chronicle provincial history for more than half a century; it would be to describe the vicissitudes of a colony but recently planted in the New World, to trace its gradual growth and transition into a distinct and independent sovereignty, and its final merger in a nation whose creation it contributed to, and whose birth it witnessed. While we do not undertake this, we must glance even at the incidents which preceded the erection of the edifice and recall those more prominent events in the history of the State and of the nation, which, occurring under the roof or within the shadow of its venerable walls, give immortality to the very bricks and mortar.

If, in investigating the antecedents of the State House or in invoking the shades of its builders, we are led into details of inanimate objects otherwise trivial, we may well point to the fact that around them the all potent power of association has set an imperishable halo, whose light is now as clearly recognized in temporal as in spiritual illustrations.

Young as our country is, the actuality, so to speak, of our Founders is already losing itself in the mists of the past; so long, however, as we can preserve the material objects left to us which those great men saw, used, or even touched, the thrill of vitality may still be transmitted unbroken.

In description "one hundred and ninety years ago" is almost as indefinite, as unreal to our adult ears as the "once upon a time" that was wont to usher in the fairy tales of early childhood; but give us the Treaty Elm, the residence of Penn, the Home of Washington, the "strong box" of Robert Morris, the walking stick of Franklin — what you will — material evidences of the public action, or even of the daily life and habits of the men of the day, and we can annihilate distance in time as in space. They serve as talismans with which to conjure

up forms and figures, and endow them with life. A letter written by the hand of Penn, appeals as strongly to us—is as distinct and comprehensible at the distance of two hundred years, as a mechanical autograph transmitted by House's telegraph from a point as many miles away.

The perpetuity of such associations must essentially depend upon our appreciation of the events which gave them being. So long as the truths declared self-evident by the men of 1776 remain manifest to their descendants, so long as we "the sovereign people of America" possess sufficient worth to make feasible the government then instituted, just so long will we cherish and keep undefiled the birth chamber of the Republic.

Nor are the memories of the State House confined to the epoch of the Revolution. Directly and indirectly they bring before us some of the grandest characters in the history of the world's progress during the past two hundred years.

William Penn reached Newcastle in Delaware, on the 27th of October, 1682, to take possession of the territory granted to him in



America by King Charles II. The frame of government "agreed upon by himself and certain free-

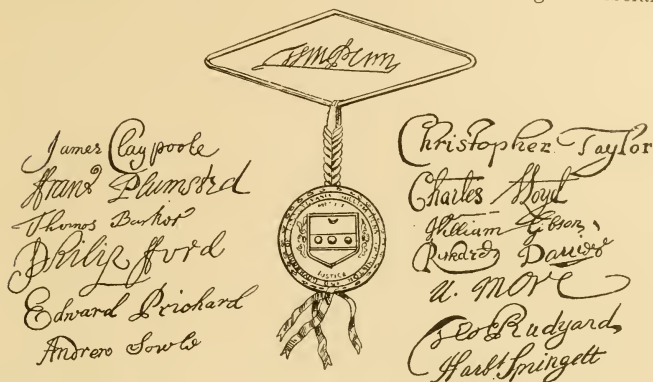
men of the Province," was published ere he left England; it provided for the Proprietary as Governor, a Provincial or Governor's Council consisting of *seventy-two* members, and one House of Assembly, the representatives to which were to be elected by the freemen of the Province to the number of *two hundred*.

Accompanied in his own ship—the *Welcome*,—by less than sufficient to form a Council of the proportion contemplated, he had been preceded by about the number of his grantees sufficient to constitute a "House of Assembly," but it was no part of his design to restrict to his own followers the privileges he had granted. The Swedes, the Finns, the Dutch, whom he expected to find, were to be naturalized, while the then settlers, grantees of the Duke of York, and of Lord Baltimore, who pay "scot and lot to the government," recognizing "the one Almighty eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world," were to be placed upon an equal footing. In "laying the fundamentals" at the first Assembly *all* the freemen were to be members thereof.



THE PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM PENN.

Penn's first Assembly convened at Chester, on the 4th day of December, 1682. Its numbers were small, notwithstanding the liberal-



PENN'S SEAL AND SIGNATURE TO THE PENNSYLVANIA CHARTER, WITH SIGNATURES OF THE WITNESSES.

ity of the invitation. Its work, prepared in some measure in advance, though alterations in ratifying the "Great Law," or general system

My Loving
Wm Penn
upland 29. 8bre:
1682.

of jurisprudence, bear unmistakable evidences of other and less liberal minds than Penn's, was accomplished in three days. This session was held, tradition tells us, in a small brick house of one story and a half, belonging to one John Hart.

Penn shortly afterwards issued his writs for the election of members of his Council according to programme, seventy-two in number, and included an invitation to *every* freeman to appear at an Assembly at Philadelphia, on the 10th of March, 1683, pursuant to the Constitution he had framed.

But the freeholders to whom these writs were addressed, while making "their humble acknowledgments of the favor intended them," asked attention to the smallness of their numbers, and the fewness of those acquainted with public business, together with their general inability to support the charge of such great elections, etc., concluding with the request that, out of the twelve elected from the county, *three* might be selected for councillors and the remaining nine form the county representation in Assembly. Thus the numbers were reduced to eighteen for the Council and fifty-four for the Assembly. The six counties being composed of three for Pennsylvania — Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester — and the "three lower counties," afterwards constituting Delaware.

Even with the reduction thus made, there then stood on the site of Philadelphia no tenement capable of accommodating this first government assemblage. It is probable that Penn met his Council in the yet unfinished house of George Guest, which stood near the spot where he is reported to have first landed — a house familiarly known to us as "The Blue Anchor Tavern."

The usual Hobson's choice of that day, as well for the individuals themselves, as for our annalists when at a loss for the *locus in quo* — the "Meeting House" — was not yet built at Philadelphia.

The wide spreading branches of the Treaty Elm would form an inviting shelter, but the season of the year forbids that inference, besides which it was rather remote from the place where the Council was sitting, and from the landing. The caves along the banks of the river in which the settlers were living were too small to hold an assembly of fifty-four men; thus we are feign to believe that as the Swedes' Church was not very far off at Wicaco, it had the honor of affording shelter to the first Assembly of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

Its proceedings belong to general history.

The building familiarly known as "Penn's Cottage," in Lætitia Court, near Market Street,¹ appears to have been finished in the Fall of 1683, and was occupied by the Proprietary during the remainder of his stay in Pennsylvania. In it met the next following Provincial Council, and its successors for many years. The precedent seems thus

¹ This cottage, though somewhat changed in its exterior, is still (1875) standing



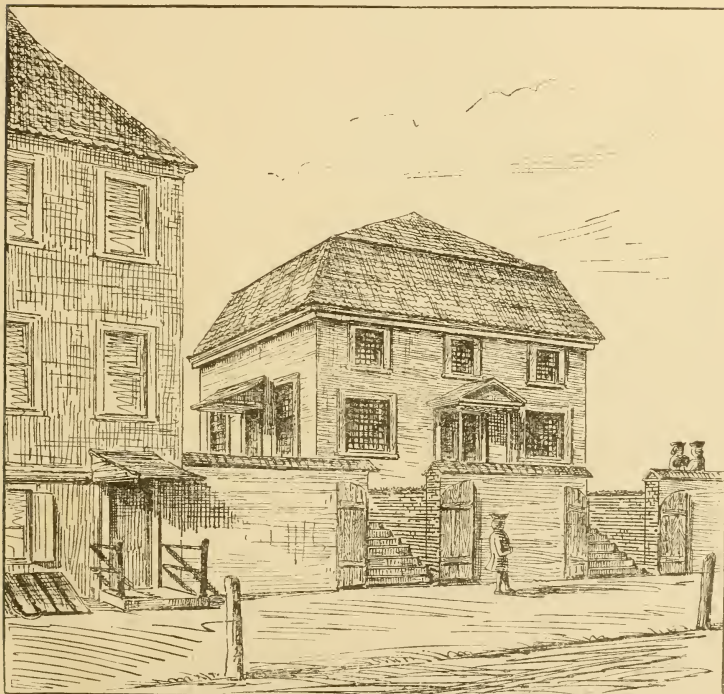
THE LÆTITIA COTTAGE.

THE FIRST RESIDENCE OF WILLIAM PENN.

to have been established for the Council to meet at the Governor's residence, since they unquestionably continued the practice till the erection of the State House, to which, as will be seen, they removed in 1747.

The Assembly was even more peripatetic from force of circumstances.

A Friends' "Meeting House," of however rough a construction, was prepared, shortly after Penn's arrival, and undoubtedly served for holding sessions of the Legislature. It and its successor — built within the same vicinity, Front Street, above Arch, and known as the Bank



THE BANK MEETING HOUSE.

Meeting House — seems to have been continued in this use for twelve years. During this period there had been built a private house of

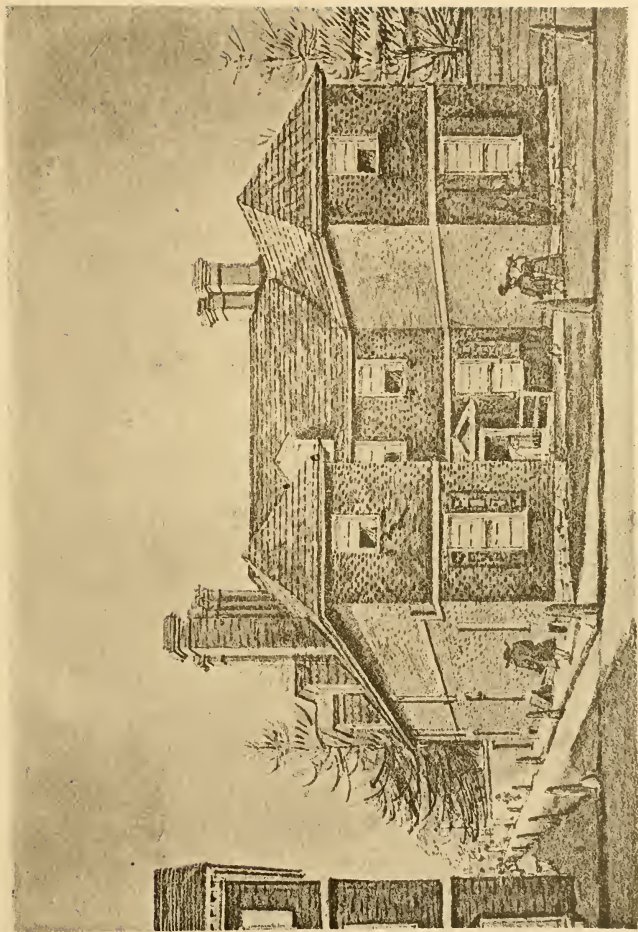
some pretensions on the lower side of Front Street, between Walnut and Spruce, which proved "too big for a private man," as Penn wrote in 1687, and "as Richard Whitpain has been at great expense for the advancement of the Province, and taketh share here (in England) on all occasions for its honor, I can do no less than recommend to you for public service his great house, which would provide you a convenience above what my cottage affords. It were reputable to take at least a *moiety* of it which might serve for all the offices of State."

The hint does not seem to have been taken in Mr. Whitpain's lifetime, though about eight years afterwards, on the 10th of September, 1695, we find the Assembly met in "the large room" of this mansion, and in order to pay the rent to Sarah Whitpain, the members then and there obliged themselves to defray the charges personally, and undertook to collect the same from their respective counties.

In another year the "Carpenter mansion," known as the Slate Roof House¹ served their turn; but we find that in 1701, the Assem-

¹ In reference to this building Mr. Westcott, in his invaluable *History of Philadelphia*, says: "This house was built by Samuel Carpenter, and was then considered as one of the best edifices in the town. That the mansion was rented to Penn is evident from a letter written by him to James Logan, in September, 1701, when about leaving for England, in which he says: 'Thou may continue in the house I lived in until the year is up.' But Logan, it seems, continued to occupy the house for some time longer as an office for the transaction of government affairs, and writes to Penn in 1702; 'I am forced to keep this house still, there being no accommodation to be had elsewhere for the public business.' About the year 1703, this house was sold to William Trent, for £850. Whether this purchaser (afterwards the founder of Trenton) occupied the house himself, we are not informed; but it seems to have been regarded by Logan as a very desirable property, and peculiarly fitted for the residence of the Proprietary should he again return to his government. Thus, in 1709, he writes: 'William Trent designing for England, is about selling his house he bought of Samuel Carpenter, which thou lived in with the improvement of a beautiful garden, etc.' 'I wish it could be made thine as nothing in this town is so well fitting a Governor. His price is £900 of our money, which it is hard thou canst not spare. I would give twenty to thirty pounds out of my own pocket that it were thine — nobody's but thine.' "

But Logan's wish was not gratified. The house became the property of Isaac Norris, an eminent citizen, for some time Speaker of the Assembly, and distinguished for the part which he took in public affairs. From him it descended to his heirs, and until the late disposal of the lot to the Commercial Exchange Association was still the property of the descendants of the Norris family. It was occupied for many years as a superior and fashionable boarding-house, and was distinguished as the lodgings of a number of persons of note while sojourning in Philadelphia. General Forbes, the successor of Braddock, died here in 1759, and was buried with military honors, the pomp of his funeral exceeding anything of the kind previously witnessed in the city.

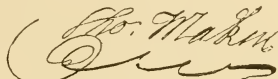


THE SLATE ROOF HOUSE.
(GOVERNMENT HOUSE.)

bly returned to Whitpain's house, which had passed into the tenure of Joseph Shippen; its "great front room" was then by resolution "ordered to be prepared and put in order," and Joseph Shippen was allowed compensation for it "by the government."

After the new charter extorted from William Penn in 1701, the Council was no longer recognized as a part of the Legislature, and the number of members of Assembly was reduced first by the secession of the representatives of the three lower counties, and by the terms of the charter, to twelve, though shortly afterwards raised to twenty-six members.

We now find this body in occupancy of the public school-house, much to the annoyance and professional detriment of its master, Thomas Makin, who was also clerk to the Assembly.



Mr. Makin was voted in consequence some compensation for the loss of his pupils.¹

The building of a *third* "meeting house," at the corner of Second and Market streets, seems to have drawn off "Friends" from the Front Street meeting-house. At all events in the latter the Assembly were enabled for some time to hold their sessions apparently undisturbed, but it would seem they were again placed under the necessity of procuring a private house in 1727-28, when it became palpable to the members, as well as to the citizens, that "it was incommensurable as well as dishonorable for the General Assembly of the Province to be obliged annually to hire some private house to meet and sit in," and that it was now full time that a Government or State House should be erected, so that the Assembly, the Governor's Council, and the Supreme Court of the Colony might have appropriate chambers.

No data are accessible from which any positive conclusion can be drawn as to the place of sitting of the Supreme Court, anterior to this time. Its sessions had been very irregular, and seem to have been held at the Court House in Market Street near Second.

Gabriel Thomas states, in 1698, "there is lately built a noble Towne House or Guild Hall, also a handsome Market House, and a convenient Prison." This would appear to refer to the Court House,

¹ Thomas Makin was one of the early settlers in Philadelphia, and before he became head master was associated at first with George Keith in what he calls his "pedagogic," and subsequently with Francis Daniel Pastorius. He wrote a description of Pennsylvania in Latin verse in 1729, which, with its translation, covers fourteen pages of Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*.

though Mr. Westcott and other reliable authorities do not believe that it was erected for eight or nine years after, or about the date of the charter of privileges to Philadelphia, as a city, October 25, 1701. This building was appropriated to general city and county purposes, including the City Council.

The General Assembly and the *Governor's* Council never held their sessions herein, as some have imagined.

Towards the close of the year 1728, a project was seriously entertained of fixing upon another place than Philadelphia for the sessions of the Legislature. The Assembly did actually go so far as to make application to the Governor (Gordon) to convene them elsewhere, assigning as a reason, "the several indecencies lately used towards the members while attending the services of the country in Philadelphia, by rude and disorderly people unknown to the House."

The Governor, disinclined to this change, temporized in his reply, but designated Chester as, next to Philadelphia, the most convenient place for meeting, should the request be persisted in. This, however, was not the case. Still the effort thus made no doubt aroused the city members and contributed to enforce a petition which was soon after—in February of the following year—presented to the Assembly, praying for a law empowering the city and councils of Philadelphia to build a State House in High Street, near the Prison, in connection with a *market*. This petition was laid before the House during an animated discussion on the expediency of making an addition to the existing paper currency, to which the Governor had seriously objected. Legislative tactics were apparently then not unknown, while the governmental machinery, inseparable from colonial dependency, was even more cumbersome than at any time subsequent to the Revolution. The paper currency bills, three of which had been passed previous to this one of 1728, now under consideration, were always fruitful subjects of dispute between the Assembly, the Governor, the Proprietary, and the "Home Government," the concurrence of all these being needed to pass any law. In this instance, the House on 1st January, 1729, resolved upon an issue of £50,000 in paper money, and appointed a committee to draft a bill accordingly. On the 4th, the result of their deliberations was reported, but it was not till the 6th that the bill was discussed, and blanks in it filled. On the 17th it was transcribed, and the next day compared by a Committee of the House in order to determine its accuracy before its transmission for his sanction to the Governor.

The Governor suggested numerous amendments. These, however,



THE FIRST TOWN-HALL AND COURT HOUSE

were all disregarded by the Assembly, except in the reduction of the amount to be issued to £40,000. This brought upon the House an indignant speech, in which the Governor expressed his astonishment that not the least alteration had been made in any material point. The House replied in a formal address, which ended in a conference on the 4th of April at the Governor's house. The amount to be issued was then again reduced by another £10,000, and on the last day of April a fresh bill, pursuant to the alterations, was transcribed and delivered in at the table.

It was at this stage of the bill, on the first of May, 1729, the Journal informs us, that upon motion made "the House took into consideration the necessity of a House for the Assembly of this Province to meet in," and the question being put, it was unanimously resolved, that two thousand pounds of the £30,000 then to be emitted in paper currency should be appropriated towards building such a House. On the same day, however, and apparently without any provision to meet the requirement, the original bill was ordered to be compared and sent to the Governor for his concurrence; the latter, however, promptly returned it on May 6th, with numerous objections, but the House insisting upon its action, and incorporating a clause for the appropriation of £2000 towards the building of a State House, the Governor yielded his points, and the bill was at once ordered to be engrossed.

The original draft of this bill, with its interlineations and amendments in the handwriting of Andrew Hamilton, has been fortunately preserved, and is now deposited in the National Museum, Independence Hall.

The page relating to our subject is herewith presented. (See p. 10.)

During the discussions this bill engendered between the Governor and the Assembly, and in view of what was destined to transpire in the very building erected under one of its provisions, it is a little amusing to find how the Governor in his message expatiated on the deference due to the royal authority, "under which," he says, "we have the great happiness to live, and from which we derive all our protection. It is our glory as well as our happiness that we are subjects to the Crown of Britain under which and the Proprietary we enjoy our vast privileges."

This law as finally passed is entitled "An Act for emitting of thirty thousand pounds in bills of credit for the better support of government and the trade of this Province." Its concluding section is as follows: "And forasmuch as a House for the Representatives of the Freemen of this Province to meet and sit in General Assembly in the City of

Philadelphia, is very much wanted : Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the sum of two thousand pounds of bills of credit made current by this act be delivered by the Trustees of the Loan Office to Thomas Lawrence, Andrew Hamilton, and John Kearsley, who are hereby appointed for building and carrying on the same ; who shall give their receipt to the trustees for the said bills," etc. Passing through the usual formalities on the eighth, the bill was signed by the Speaker on the tenth of May. On the same day the House, as was then the custom, waited in a body upon the Governor, that this and other bills should be passed into law — the concurrence of "his honour" having been graciously accorded.




Such is the modest provision made for the State House of Pennsylvania, now the world renowned "Independence Hall."

Still another formality was required, "the affixing of the Great Seal of the Province," and this demanded the presence of a committee of the House. Messrs. Thomas Tress and William Monington, were assigned to this duty. Even now the law might be disallowed by his Majesty's Government, and in anticipation of an adverse action the House had appointed another committee, consisting of John Kearsley, Andrew Hamilton, and William Webb, to prepare an address to the King, and one to the Penns, in favor of the law as passed.

It was not for many months that his Majesty's royal pleasure in favor of its validity was made known.

A contrariety of opinion among the members of the building committee, both as to site and plans, delayed any action for nearly three years. While the legislative body had determined upon neither, it will be remembered that its action was based upon a petition from the citizens of Philadelphia, who had designated "High Street" near the Prison (Market Street, near Third), as the *locus in quo*, and wished a "Market" in connection with it.

Dr. Kearsley evidently favored this location. As an amateur architect, too, he had planned and superintended the erection of Christ

Church, a building which gave universal satisfaction, and had constituted the Doctor an authority in such matters. He conceived a plan for the State House, and submitted it to his colleagues, but so also it appears did Mr. Hamilton. That of the latter was preferred and adopted by the majority of the committee. They also determined upon the site at Chestnut Street, between Fifth and Sixth, in opposition to the views of Dr. Kearsley. Thus while the latter has been strangely credited with the design and construction of the State House, it is fully shown by the records of the Assembly that he interposed every obstacle in his power, even after the site had been selected and the ground secured, "frequently insisting," complains Mr. Hamilton, "that the House of Representatives had never agreed that it should be built at that place."

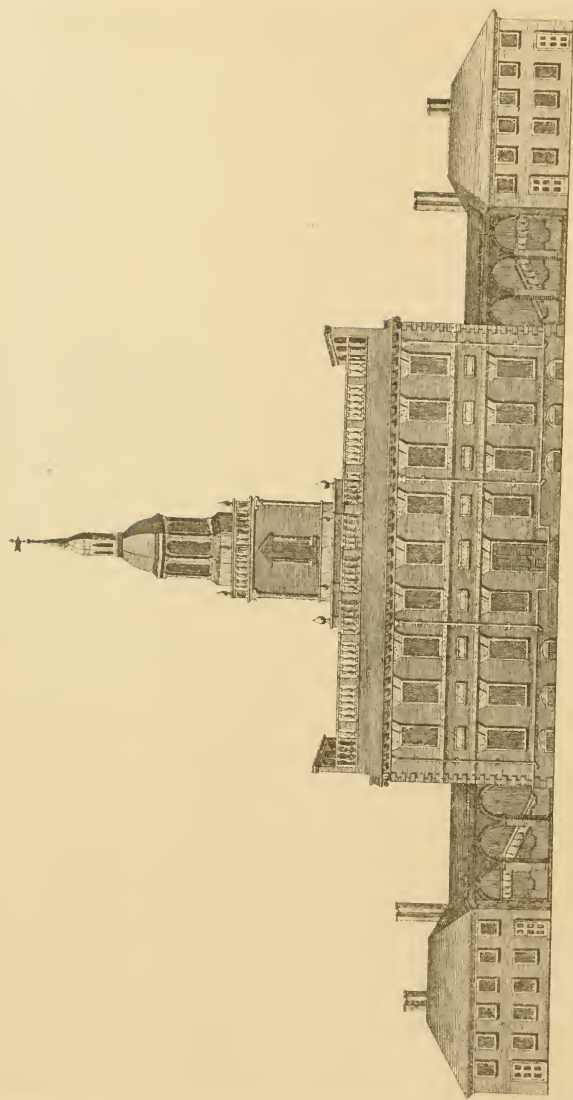
William Penn, with his accustomed foresight, had reserved for the public buildings, city and State, "the Centre Square" at Broad and Market streets, but only forty-seven years had then elapsed, and it needed nigh unto two centuries to justify his anticipations.

The lots on Chestnut Street which Messrs. Hamilton and Lawrence selected, had been sold to various purchasers; the former therefore authorized William Allen (even then a prominent merchant and subsequently one of the most distinguished citizens of Philadelphia) to buy in his own name, for the use of the Province, the necessary ground. On the 15th October, 1730, he made his first purchase of one hundred and ninety-eight feet (including the middle) of the present Chestnut Street front, and running back half way to Walnut, besides a small lot at the corner of Sixth Street, on Chestnut, and another small lot on Fifth, these last evidently intended as an entering wedge to the acquisition of the whole of the Chestnut Street front — a project nearly completed by additional purchases made by Mr. Hamilton himself, in 1732, in the spring of which year ground was actually broken.

The plan adopted included alone the present main or central building (the State House proper), and was designed to accommodate the Assembly, the Supreme Court, and the Governor's Council only.

It fell to Mr. Speaker Hamilton, personally, to carry out the design of the noble building he had planned; and as usual, in those days as in our own, while seeking conscientiously to serve the public without fee or reward, he was repaid by malicious insinuations and active opposition.

Inferior mechanics who wanted "jobs," and were rebuffed; office-holders who sought to subserve their own selfish ends, regardless of public convenience or public interests; disappointed schemers, and



ILLINOIS STATE HOUSE

even well intentioned citizens, enamored of their own notions, contributed to impede or thwart the work, till at last Mr. Hamilton, provoked beyond endurance, brought the whole subject before the Legislature. In the presence of Dr. Kearsley he requested that the House would resolve itself into a committee of the whole in order to hear and discuss the subject of location, plans, and contracts, etc. This was accordingly done, and full opportunity given to Dr. Kearsley, to present his own design and all the objections to that of Mr. Hamilton, whose plan and elevation of the State House were also submitted to the members. By formal resolution the action of Mr. Hamilton, both in regard to the site selected and to the manner of conducting the building, was approved.

Mr. Hamilton informed the House that the charge of superintending the erection of the building and providing incidental materials and workmen had almost entirely been devolved upon himself; that he found from experience that the affair was attended with great difficulties and with much prejudice to his own private concerns; and desired that the House should appoint some competent person to superintend the work, who could devote his attention to the subject, and be invested with needful authority to enforce his orders. The House, however, declined to release Mr. Hamilton. They fully indorsed all the arrangements hitherto made by him, with the request that he would continue to act with the existing committee, and promised due compensation.

Mr. Allen had purchased the lots in his own name, and expended his own money in so doing, relying no doubt on his friends, Hamilton and Lawrence, for repayment. Accordingly the House on 8th of August, 1732, took into consideration the expediency of "vesting in trust in some body politick and corporate, capable of succession, who should be compellable to execute that trust in such manner as may be directed by the General Assembly of the Province for the time being." On the 11th they passed a resolution, that the committee should pay to William Allen the purchase money for the ground he bought for the State House, upon the said William Allen making a declaration of trust with stipulation of conveyance to such persons as any subsequent House of Representatives should see fit to appoint for that service.

The preliminary arrangements having been thus finally adjusted, work was recommenced in earnest. Mr. Hamilton's two colleagues seem to have relinquished all supervision, Mr. Lawrence probably from confidence in his friend's judgment, and Dr. Kearsley in sullen disgust. At this early day the Philadelphia mechanics still retained

their English pride of "Guilds," and competent workmen could be found to supply all the requisites except fancy plaster work.

No trades-unions then interfered with learning the trade adopted by the apprentice; no coöperative association existed to foist upon an abused public inferior work through irresponsible and incompetent laborers.

Skilled masons, skilled carpenters, and skilled plasterers, as the work now attests after nearly a century and a half, faithfully performed the labors assigned them.

The names of some of them employed at various times have been preserved.

Edmund Woolley, Ebenezer Tomlinson, carpenters and builders; John Harrison, joiner and carver; Thomas Shoemaker, with whom were Robert Hind, and Thomas Peglar; Joseph Hitchcock; Thomas Boude, bricklayer; Daniel Jones, James Stoops, and Benjamin Fairman, brickmakers; William Holland, marble mason; Thomas Kerr, plasterer; Jona. Palmer, Thomas Redman, stone masons and cellar diggers; Brian Wilkinson, wood carver; Thomas Ellis, glazier; and later still Thomas Godfrey, who afterwards became famous as the inventor of the Quadrant.

The painting was done by Gustavus Hesselius, who subsequently removed to Maryland, and became well known as a portrait painter.

During the session of 1735-6, the question was again agitated of placing the State House with its croft, toft, and loft in proper legal plight. It was determined to vest the whole in Trustees, and William Allen was very properly selected by the House, with associates the chief Burgesses of Bristol and of Chester. Mr. Allen had now become mayor of the city, and for personal reasons as well as from feelings of delicacy earnestly asked to be excused, whereupon it was resolved that John Kinsey, Joseph Kirkbride, Jr., Caleb Cowpland, and Thomas Edwards, should be named as Trustees.

An act of assembly was passed accordingly, February 21, 1736, reciting the purchases by Andrew Hamilton and William Allen, and the fact of the erection of a State House and other buildings, and requiring a conveyance by these gentlemen to the Trustees named.

This act contains the proviso so often made merry over,—"It is the true intent and meaning of these Presents, that no part of the said ground lying to the southward of the State House, as it is now built, be converted into or made use of for erecting any sort of Building thereupon, but that the said ground shall be enclosed and remain a public *open* Green and Walks forever,"—a requirement doubtless made originally by Mr. Hamilton.

Directions had already been given in 1732, that "the ground belonging to the State House may be with the least expense, and with all convenient speed levelled and enclosed with a board fence, in order that walks may be laid out and trees planted to render the same more beautiful and commodious," but while a wall was finally erected as a protection no attempts to plant or embellish the grounds seem to have been made down to the period of the Revolution. In March, 1733, a plan was exhibited to and adopted by the House for the erection of two *offices* adjoining the original edifice to be used as places of deposit for the "greater security of the public papers of the province."

Spurred on by the fact that the Assembly was sitting in cramped quarters, — a small tenement on one of the lots purchased for the State House Square, — the work was now pushed rapidly forwards, especially the chamber designed for the Assembly itself. But even before its occupancy, the first public use, to which any portion of the building was put, was, appropriately enough, for what might be called a raising frolic. Here in the second story, in "the long room" and its two ante-chambers was held the great banquet described in Franklin's "Pennsylvania Gazette," under date of September 30, 1736, as follows: —

"Thursday last William Allen, Esq., Mayor of this city for the year past, made a feast for his citizens at the State House, to which all the strangers in town of note were also invited. Those who are judges of such things say that considering the delicacy of the viands, the variety and excellency of the wines, the great number of guests, and yet the easiness and order with which the whole was conducted, it was the most grand, the most elegant entertainment that has been made in these parts of America."

Thus was inaugurated the Banqueting Hall of the city, a name that it retained till the com-

mencement of the present century, while its reputation seems to have been kept constantly alive, as we shall presently see, by the giving therein all ceremonial banquets, whether to celebrate the King's birthday, the arrival of a new Governor or any member of the Proprietary family, or of a commander-in-chief of the royal forces.

Apprehensive of censure on the score of too heavy an expenditure, it was determined at first to wainscot the Assembly Room only in part and finish it in plaster, but upon consideration this was deemed false economy and while still in a rough state with the windows not even

Will. Allen Mayor

fully glazed, it was prepared for the occupancy of the Legislature at their October session, 1736.

The first Assembly using the chamber was composed of the following members : —

Philadelphia County. — Thomas Leech, John Kinsey, Robert Jones, Edward Warner, William Allen, Job Goodsonn, Jonathan Robeson, Septimus Robinson.

Bucks County. — Joseph Kirkbride, Jr., Jeremiah Langhorne, Christian Vanhorne, Andrew Hamilton, Lawrence Growdon, William Biles, Matthew Hughes, Benjamin Jones.

Chester County. — Joseph Harvey, Thomas Cummings, John Evans, Caleb Cowpland, William Webb, William Moore, Thomas Chandler, John Parry.

Philadelphia City. — “ Burgesses : ” John Kearsley, Israel Pemberton.

The new county of Lancaster was represented by James Hamilton, Andrew Galbraith, Thomas Armstrong, and Thomas Edwards.

Andrew Hamilton was elected Speaker for the seventh time.

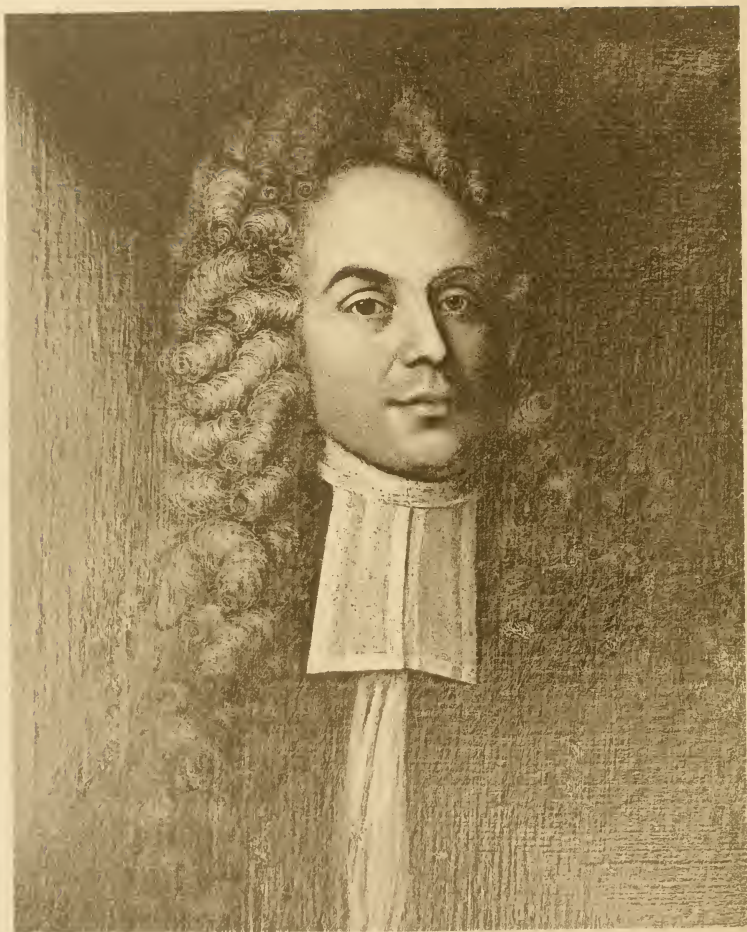
Benjamin Franklin was elected clerk, *vice* Growdon, then turned out ; James Mackey, sergeant at arms ; and Stephen Potts, door-keeper of the House.

The Council was at this time sitting at the house of the President, James Logan. After choosing a Speaker (always the first act of the

Thy Hearty Loving R^d Jas. Logan

session), the whole House waited upon the Governor in person, “ to present him ” for the approbation of the Governor, in a very curious formula, — for the Speaker was expected to request the Governor to make another choice, he the Speaker elect declaring his want of proper qualifications for that office. A departure seems to have been made by Andrew Hamilton, in 1738, who on the formal presentation disclaimed in a dignified and becoming manner the holding of such opinion of himself and declined to say with his mouth that which was not agreeable to the sentiments of his heart, etc.

Mr. Hamilton’s increasing ill health induced him in the following year to retire from public employment, though apparently he still retained some part in the supervision of the building of the State House. The active agency of Mr. Hamilton, the credit of which has been so



THE PORTRAIT OF ANDREW HAMILTON.

strangely accorded to another, joined to the fidelity with which he discharged every public duty he assumed, and the fearlessness with which he asserted the rights of the citizen, rights that have descended to this day, entitle him to something more than a mere passing notice at our hands, among a generation which almost ignores his name.

The paternity as well as the early life of Mr. Hamilton are involved in mystery; partially on this account and partially from the fact of change of name from Trent to Hamilton, and by the unusually finished education he received professionally, as well as academically, an air of romance has been thrown around him. Family tradition has been invoked to justify a suggestion that "he *probably* killed a person of importance in a duel, and was compelled to fly from his native country," Scotland; and again, that "political difficulties had induced his emigration, and original change of name," while less considerate suggestions have been made of a conviction for some crime though admitted less than a felony.

The name originally borne by him, as well as the name for which he changed it, would seem to point unmistakably to New Jersey, and to Andrew Hamilton, the Governor of that colony, and subsequently Governor of Pennsylvania, for his paternity; such notion obtained at one time, and though frowned down would seem to derive corroboration from time and circumstances.

This Governor Andrew Hamilton came from Scotland, and settled in New Jersey in 1686. The Governor, though he brought no wife with him, and *subsequent* to his arrival married the daughter of Governor Rudyard, is distinctly understood to have "transferred a family" to his new home. Andrew, Jr., was at this time ten years of age. We lose sight of him during the whole of Governor Andrew's subsequent married life, but after the latter's death he reappears under his true name, dropping that of Trent, possibly — a not uncommon resource in parallel cases — his mother's surname. William Penn, who was the warm personal friend of the Governor, early interested himself on behalf of the young man, and though the latter was then residing at Chestertown, in Maryland, he was retained in 1712, in a suit by Penn against a resident of Delaware, who claimed some antagonistic rights under the grant of the Duke of York. At this time no especial professional reputation could have prompted such employment.

A singular corroborative evidence will be detected by those who believe in the transmission of characteristic traits or idiosyncrasies, by descent, be it legitimate or illegitimate. A comparison of handwriting will show a marked resemblance between that of Governor Andrew

and this reputed son, and a still stronger resemblance exists between that of the son of the latter, James, who was subsequently Governor of Pennsylvania, and his supposititious grandfather Governor Andrew.

(1) *And. Hamilton*

(2) *A. Hamilton*

(3) *James Hamilton*

(4) *A. Hamilton Junr.*

(4) *Thomas Hamilton*

(1) THE GOVERNOR. (2) THE LAWYER. (3) AND (4) THE SONS OF THE LAWYER (AND GRANDSONS OF THE OLD GOVERNOR?)

The resemblance is almost as marked as between the handwriting of Dr. Franklin and his natural son William Franklin, Governor of New

Dr. Franklin Presid.

Wm. Franklin

Jersey. Be the taint what it may, the fault or crime is believed to lie with the elder generation and *not* with "the lawyer."

Educated to the bar in Maryland, where for a short time he

practiced, he was admitted to Gray's Inn, London, and shortly after established himself in Philadelphia, became a member of the Governor's Council and Attorney-general of the Province, a position he retained from 1717 to 1726. He was appointed successively Prothonotary of the court and Recorder of the city; while at the same time he was a member of the Assembly from Bucks County.

Elected Speaker in 1729, he received annually the suffrages of his fellow members for the same office for ten consecutive years,—1733 alone excepted,—retiring finally from public life in 1739, save only from the position of Recorder, then a highly important office, which he retained fourteen years, till his death on the 4th of August, 1741.

"He lived," says Franklin, in announcing his decease, "not without enemies, for as he was himself open and honest, he took pains to unmask the hypocrite, and boldly censured the knave, without regard to station or profession. Such, therefore, may exult at his death. He steadily maintained the cause of liberty; and the laws made during the time he was Speaker of the Assembly,—which was many years,—will be a lasting monument of his affection to the people, and of his concern for the welfare of this province. He was no friend to power, as he had observed an ill use had been frequently made of it in the colonies, and therefore was seldom upon good terms with the governors. This prejudice, however, did not always determine his conduct towards them, for when he saw they meant well he was for supporting them honorably, and was indefatigable in removing the prejudices of others. He was long at the top of his profession here, and had he been as gripping as he was knowing, he might have left a much greater fortune to his family than he had done. But he spent much more time in hearing and reconciling differences in private (to the loss of his fees) than he did in pleading causes at the Bar."

His professional ability was such as to induce his retention in all the important cases of the day in the Province of Pennsylvania, and frequently was he applied to for counsel and advice by the governors, as well as citizens, of the other colonies.

It was, however, the famous "Zenger trial case" that earned him immortality. The defendant was John Peter Zenger, "a Palatine child," who had been apprenticed by the State to William Bradford, to learn the trade and mystery of printing, after the removal of the latter to New York. Zenger had evidently imbibed from his master, with the handicraft itself, the principles which should guide him in its conduct. Bradford, it will be remembered, had abandoned Philadelphia, in consequence of interferences on the part of the Governor and Coun-

cil, and of his arrest made on account of his publications, but both before the Council and the court he maintained his right to publish the truth without sedition, and claimed that in such cases the jury were judges of the law as of the fact.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Will Bradford". The signature is written in dark ink and is followed by several horizontal and wavy lines, suggesting a flourish or a signature block.

In 1733, Zenger set up for himself, and published in that city the "New York Weekly Journal," with apparent satisfaction to all concerned, until at last he undertook to criticize the mismanagement of public affairs; remarking that the people of New York "think as

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Peter Zenger". The signature is written in dark ink and is followed by a horizontal line.

matters now stand that their liberties and properties are precarious, and that slavery is like to be entailed upon them and their posterity, if some things be not amended, and this they collect from many past proceedings."

Again, in the following April, after commenting upon the general interests of the country, he concluded an article by observing that as to New York, "We see men's deeds destroyed, judges arbitrarily displaced, new courts erected without consent of the Legislature, by which it seems to me trials by jury are taken away when a governor pleases; men of known estates denied their votes contrary to the received practice, the best exposition of any law. Who is there in that Province that can call anything his own, or enjoy any liberty longer than those in the administration will condescend to let them do it?" etc.

Over these publications the government was much exercised, and after trying in vain to secure the action of the grand jury, finally required the Attorney-general of the Province to lodge "an information" against Zenger. The Chief Justice, De Lancey, before whom

the case would be tried, was also a member of the Governor's Council, and thus participated in the preliminary steps against the intended criminal.

Zenger's original counsel, at the outset, having taken exceptions to the competency of the court, were by the latter excluded from practice, and the defendant was thus left at the mercy of the royal Justices, who thereupon appointed, to take charge of his defense, a gentleman who proved himself so obsequious, as to render it likely to result in the imprisonment of his client. Under these circumstances, Andrew Hamilton undertook the case "without fee or reward, and though laboring under the weight of many years and great infirmities of body," he entered into it with such ardor as to induce him to ask pardon, during the progress of the case, for his zeal on the occasion. "It is an old and wise caution," said he, "that when our neighbor's house is on fire we ought to take care of our own. For though — blessed be God — I live in a Government where Liberty is well understood and freely enjoyed; yet experience has shown us all (I'm sure it has to me) that a bad precedent in one government is soon set up for an authority in another, and therefore I cannot but think it mine and every honest man's duty that (while we pay all due obedience to men in authority) we ought at the same time to be upon our guard against power wherever we apprehend that it may affect ourselves or our fellow subjects."

The junior counsel for Zenger, when the case came on to be tried, was inclined to let the prosecution prove, as usual, the fact that the defendant had printed and published the papers, when Mr. Hamilton, addressing the court, waived the point, and boldly said: "I cannot think it proper for me without doing violence to my own principles, to deny the publication of a complaint which I think is the right of every free-born subject to make, when the matters so published can be supported with truth." After pointing out, in the argument, the distinction to be drawn between the sovereign and the mere colonial governor, and indignantly repudiating the Star Chamber decisions sought to be established as law by the prosecution in an American court, he insisted that, both by the terms of the "information" and the legal construction of the crime of libel, falsehood was an essential. He maintained the right of his client to give the truth in evidence, against the adverse interruptions of the judges and of the opposing counsel, and after he was overruled by the court, he appealed to the jury as WITNESSES of the truth of the facts he had offered, and was denied the liberty to prove, concluding that "you

are summoned out of the neighborhood because you are supposed to have the best knowledge of the facts that are to be tried. And were you to find a verdict against my client you must take upon you to say that the papers referred to, and which we acknowledge we printed and published, are *false*, scandalous, and malicious, but of this I can have no apprehension. You are citizens of New York . . . the facts which we offered to prove were not committed in a corner; they are notoriously known to be true. . . . The jury are by law at liberty to find both the law and the fact in our case But to conclude; the question before the court and you, Gentlemen of the Jury, is not of small nor private concern; it is not the case of a poor printer nor of New York alone which you are trying. No, it may in its consequence affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the main of America. It is the best cause—it is the cause of Liberty, and I make no doubt but your upright conduct this day will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens, but every man who prefers Freedom to a life of Slavery, will bless and honor you, as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny, and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors, that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right,—the liberty of exposing and opposing arbitrary power (in these parts of the world at least), by speaking and writing *truth*.” So strong was the impression produced by Mr. Hamilton’s argument, even upon the court, that the Chief Justice in charging the jury restricts his words of instruction, assigning as a reason therefor, “the great pains Mr. Hamilton has taken to show you how little regard Juries are to pay to the opinion of the Judges,” etc.

The jury promptly brought in a verdict of *Not guilty*.

The mayor and city council of New York, in the following September, passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Hamilton, “for his learned and generous defense of the rights of mankind, and the Liberty of the Press,”—conferring upon him at the same time, “the Freedom of the City,”—the seal to which was inclosed in a handsome gold box, with appropriate inscriptions.

The ability displayed in the conduct of the case, as well as in the argument, has elicited from the Hon. John Cadwalader, than whom no man is better able to judge, this comment as to the latter: “It displays accuracy of scientific learning, and the result of severe self-discipline as a lawyer. The speech is a sufficient biography of him as a student of

legal science. His method of referring to authorities tests the depth of his research and the clearness of his judgment, not less than the copiousness of his intellectual development. Ordinary lawyers work from their authorities as their only source of professional knowledge. They thus work, as it were, from below upwards; but great lawyers look upon the same precedents from above, downwards, using them as the tests, or as examples of rules or principles, deduced from independent and higher sources of thought. Of this class was Mr. Hamilton."

But the cause which he here pleaded earned for him from Gouverneur Morris, one of the framers of the Constitution of the United States, the appellation of "the day-star of the American Revolution." He in this case laid down the principles that were engrafted fifty-five years afterwards into the fundamental laws of his country, framed within the very walls of that Edifice which he was then building better than he knew, and which seems to justify this apparent discursion. In one of the very chambers of the State House, in September, 1790, the point for which Mr. Hamilton originally contended was incorporated into the Constitution of Pennsylvania: —

"THE FREE COMMUNICATION OF THOUGHTS AND OPINIONS IS ONE OF THE INVALUABLE RIGHTS OF MAN; AND EVERY CITIZEN MAY FREELY SPEAK, WRITE, AND PRINT ON ANY SUBJECT, BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ABUSE OF THAT LIBERTY. IN PROSECUTIONS FOR THE PUBLICATION OF PAPERS INVESTIGATING THE OFFICIAL CONDUCT OF OFFICERS OR MEMBERS IN A PUBLIC CAPACITY, OR WHERE THE MATTER PUBLISHED IS PROPER FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION, THE TRUTH THEREOF MAY BE GIVEN IN EVIDENCE. AND IN ALL INDICTMENTS FOR LIBELS THE JURY SHALL HAVE A RIGHT TO DETERMINE THE LAW AND THE FACTS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COURT AS IN OTHER CASES."

Andrew Hamilton's portrait is thus entitled to its place as a pendant to that of William Penn, in the "Constitutional Chamber" of Independence Hall.

After the Assembly had taken possession of its unfinished chamber, the members complained of the incidental discomforts, and general dissatisfaction was expressed that at the end of eight years the other portions of the Building were yet unfinished. The dilatoriness of the contractors served apparently to exhaust the patience of the superintendents as well as of the public. Laborers had disappointed; though the carpenter work was finished and sashes made, glass provided, etc.,

yet the latter could not be used, because the wall in the rear was not finished, and "the panes would be broken by the boys," etc.; "capable workmen could not be had to do the plastering," etc.

In the summer of 1741, the Assembly insisted at least, "that the plaistering and glazing should be finished for the next session, even if the ceiling and upper work must be delayed till workmen could be procured from England." They resolved, "that the whole Building with all its parts should be finished without delay, that it may be ready for the use intended."

Still four years more elapsed before the Assembly Room was completed. In 1745, the finishing touches were given. Curtains of some sort, apparently inexpensive, were ordered for the windows, and put up by Plunket Fleeson, the upholsterer of the day, who seems also to have covered the chairs.

A handsome silver inkstand was provided for the Speaker's table by Philip Syng, silversmith, who charged therefor £25 16s.¹ Large maps, one of North America, were ordered to be placed upon the walls; these do not seem, however, ever to have been purchased or used.

Two open stoves were used for heating the chamber, made by Lewis Brahl, at a cost of £27 16s. 11d.

An "echo" in the chamber seems to have given annoyance; and the committee were instructed "to take efficient measures so that the members may better hear one another."

The second room prepared for use was the western or Judicial Chamber, on the first floor. In 1743, it was ordered to be finished upon a plan then submitted to the Assembly, and corresponding in style with the Assembly Room.

The first Justices who occupied the bench in that chamber were:—

JOHN KINSEY, <i>Chief Justice</i> . . .	1743 to 1750
THOMAS GREENE, } <i>Associate Justices</i> {	1734 to 1750
WILLIAM TILL, }	1743 to 1750

And from that time down to the period of the Revolution the succeeding Chief Justices were:—

WILLIAM ALLEN	1751 to 1774
BENJAMIN CHEW	1774

¹ Ordered, February 12, 1752, That the Superintendent of the State House do provide a suitable inkstand of silver for the use of the Speaker's table, and on August 22, 1752, Philip Syng was paid his account for a silver inkstand for the use of the House, — £25 16s.

Associate Justices.

LAWRENCE GROWDON	1751 to 1764
CALER COWPLAND	1751 to 1758
WILLIAM COLEMAN	1758 to 1766
ALEXANDER STEDMAN	1764 to 1768
JOHN LAWRENCE	1768
THOMAS WILLING	1768
JOHN MORTON	1774

In the summer of 1747, the Governor's Council became impatient in their turn to take possession of the quarters designed for them; this was the Western Chamber in the second story, and they urged upon the Speaker that it should be put in order accordingly. October of the next year found them holding their sessions in what was thereafter known as "the Council Chamber."

Mr. Lawrence, one of the joint building trustees, was himself a member of the Board at this time. Anthony Palmer, the acting Governor, was its President. Lawrence Growdon, William Logan, Joseph Turner, and Thomas Hopkinson, all prominent men in colonial history, were also of the Council.

The Governors of Pennsylvania thus associated with the Building were:—

JAMES HAMILTON	1748	THOMAS WHARTON, JR.	1777
ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS	1754	GEORGE BRYAN	1778
WILLIAM DENNY	1756	JOSEPH REED	1778
JAMES HAMILTON	1759	WILLIAM MOORE	178
JOHN PENN	1763	JOHN DICKINSON	1782
JAMES HAMILTON	1771	BENJAMIN FRANKLIN	1785
RICHARD PENN	1771	THOMAS MIFFLIN, 1788 to	
JOHN PENN	1773	December	1799 ¹

The staircase leading to the Council Chamber, and to the other two rooms on this floor, the Banqueting Hall and its ante-chamber, was completed as early as 1741. The carpenter's bill is still extant, and possesses some interest:—

¹ Their predecessors were:—

William Markham	1681	Edward Shippen	1703
William Penn	1682	John Evans	1704
Thomas Lloyd	1684	Charles Gookin	1709
John Blackwell	1688	Sir William Keith	1717
Thomas Lloyd	1689	Patrick Gordon	1726
Benjamin Fletcher	1693	James Logan	1736
William Markham	1693	George Thomas	1738
William Penn	1699	Anthony Palmer	1747
Andrew Hamilton	1701		

NOVEMBER 4, 1741.

The Province of Pennsylvania,

TO EDMUND WOOLLEY, DR.

For expenses in raising the Tower of the State House, viz. :—

95 loaves of Bread	£0 19 9
61 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. Bacon at 7d.	1 14 1
148 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Beef at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	2 8 1
Potatoes and Greens	0 7 1
800 Limes at 4s.	1 12 0
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel of Beer at 18s.	1 7 0
44 lb. Mutton at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	0 12 8
37 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. Veal at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	0 11 0
30 lb. Venison at 2d.	0 5 0
Turnips	0 1 6
Pepper and Mustard	0 1 5
2 Jugs and Candles, Pipes and Tobacco	0 6 0
Butter, 9s. 8d. Turkey, 4s. 4 pair Fowls, 9s.	1 2 8
$\frac{1}{4}$ of a hundred of Flour	0 3 6
Two former Hookings at getting on two Floors, and now for raising the Tower, Fire Wood, etc.	3 0 0
	<hr/>
	£14 12 8

On the 27th January, 1750, the Assembly ordered "That the Superintendents of the State House proceed as soon as conveniently they may to *carry up* a building on the south side of the said house to contain the stair-case, with a suitable place thereon for hanging a Bell.

The "Tower," at this time terminated very nearly with the main roof; a steeple does not seem at first to have been contemplated, but now determined upon, a new room was ordered to be added by raising the tower one story; it was designed for the use of the committees and "for our books."

It must be borne in mind that the Assembly of Pennsylvania at this time, unlike those to which we have been accustomed ever since the adoption of the Constitution of 1790, consisted of only one body. The eastern room on the first floor was then sufficient for legislative needs, its members numbering thirty. Still a committee room was required.

A resolution was adopted in 1752, to place at the southeast corner of the State House a structure for the purpose, but the absurdity of such a building must have prevented its accomplishment, and while it seems that the "new chamber" in the tower was prepared by the summer of 1753, it either proved inadequate or possibly too difficult of access. At all events one of the rooms in the eastern wing

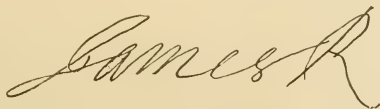
was sometimes used for committee meetings, at least as early as 1761. The library collected for the Assembly was placed herein, and Charles Norris was upon his petition appointed "keeper."

Among the presents to the Legislature before the Revolution, and doubtless placed in this room, was a "Busto of the proprietor Thomas Penn, Esq.," brought over by Captain Sutton, as "a present from his wife, Lady Juliana Penn, to the people of Pennsylvania, to be lodged" says Mrs. Patience Wright, by whom it was executed, "in the public library." Mrs. Wright in her letter to Rev. Richard Peters, also says, "Lady Juliana told me to inform you it is thought a most excellent performance, and that it was admired by the King and Queen, and most of the nobility in England. My sister Rachel Wells will inspect and repair it on its arrival."

This bust has eluded so far all inquiries towards its discovery.

The desire for procuring bells and building steeples seems to have shown itself about the middle of the last century in religious as well as in political corporations. In this same year the vestrymen of Christ Church opened a subscription for this purpose, a member declaring at the board "that there is a hearty inclination to the thing in the inhabitants of this city, not only of our own church, but in sundry persons of other religious societies."

It must not be concluded however, that bells were then to be introduced for the first time. As early as 1712, two bells, "the little bell," and "the great bell," were certainly used by the Christ Church congregation, whether suspended in a belfry, or "hung in the crotch of a tree close by," seems to be undetermined; unquestionably the latter mode was adopted for the government bell, an accompaniment to official proclamations in the Province at least as early as 1685. It is not improbable that this latter was brought over by William Penn himself. The earliest mention of its use is in language so quaint as to justify its "counterfeit" presentation.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "James R.", written in dark ink.

Pennsylvania
By the President and Council
These are to give public Notice that our Present
Sovereign King James the Second is now published
in the second Part upon Delaware River, and
agreed that the Governor is to be to Morrow Morning
at the Ninth hour upon the Wingings of the Sea
Philadelphia the
11th 3rd Month 1685
Signed by Order
Richard Ogden Esq. Council

Pursuant to this order the following proclamation was read, here given verbatim from the original manuscript used by the Sheriff:—

PENNSILVANIA

Philadelphiu the 12th of the 3rd Mo 1685.

We the president & the provincial Counsell accompanied with the representatives of the freemen in Assembly & divers magistrates officers & other persons of note do in duty & in concurrence with our neighbouring provinces solemnly publish & declare that James Duke of York & Albany by the decease of our late sovereign Charles the 2^d is now become our lawfull liege lord & king James the 2^d of England Scotland France & Ireland & amongst other of his dominions in America of this Province of Pennsylvania & its Territorys king, to whom we acknowledge faithfull & constant obedience hartily wishing him a happy raigne in health peace & prosperity—

And so God Save the King

THO LLOYD President

Tho Holme
 Christo Taylor
 Phinehas Pemberton
 Willm Frampton
 W^m Southbe

Peter Aldricks
 W^m Darvall
 Luke Watson
 Jon Roades
 W. Greene

Jon Simpeock
 Jon Cann
 Willm Wood
 Tho Janney
 Jon Barnes

RIC^d INGELO

Clark Counsell

This Province Bell was most likely transferred to the cupola of the Court House or "Noble Towne House," upon its erection in 1696-97, at Second and High streets.

A bell seems also to have been placed within the tower temporarily upon the first occupation of the State House, which it is believed was also imported from England.

Its successor, owing to its subsequent history, merits a more careful investigation at our hands.

The Provinces not being able it was thought to supply a bell of the proportions needed, a letter was addressed by the Superintendents of the State House, to the Colonial agent in London, pursuant to a resolution of the House of October 16, 1751. It is dated November 1, following, and runs thus : —

"*Respected Friend, Robert Charles*, — The Assembly having ordered us (the Superintendents of the State House) to procure a bell from England, to be purchased for their use, we take the liberty to apply ourselves to thee to get us a good bell, of about two thousand pounds weight, the cost of which we presume may amount to about one hundred pounds sterling, or, perhaps, with the charges, something more. . . .

"We hope and rely on thy care and assistance in this affair, and that thou wilt procure and forward it by the first good opportunity, as our workmen inform us it will be much less trouble to hang the bell before their scaffolds are struck from the building where we intend to place it, which will not be done till the end of next summer or beginning of the fall. Let the bell be cast by the best workmen, and examined carefully before it is shipped, with the following words well shaped in large letters round it, viz. : —

"By order of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, for the State House in the city of Philadelphia, 1752.

"And underneath,

"Proclaim Liberty through all the land to all the inhabitants thereof. — Levit. xxv. 10.

"As we have experienced thy readiness to serve this province on all occasions, we desire it may be our excuse for this additional trouble from thy assured friends,

"ISAAC NORRIS.

"THOMAS LEECH.

"EDWARD WARNER."

"Let the package for transportation be examined with particular care, and the full value insured there."

The bell duly arrived at the end of August, 1752, in apparent good order, and the Superintendents returned to Mr. Charles, "their thanks for thy care in procuring us so good a bell." Upon its being tested

however, early in September, notwithstanding all the cautionary instructions given, the Superintendents "had the mortification," says Mr. Norris, on the 10th March, 1753, to hear "that it was cracked by a stroke of the clapper without any other violence, as it was hung up to try the sound; though this was not very agreeable to us, we concluded to send it back by Captain Budden,¹ but he could not take it on board, upon which two ingenious workmen undertook to cast it here, and I am just now informed they have this day opened the mould and have got a good bell, which, I confess, pleases me very much, that *we* should *first* venture upon and succeed in the greatest bell cast, for aught I know, in English America. The mould was finished in a very masterly manner, and the letters, I am told, are better than [on] the old one. When we broke up the metal, our judges here generally agreed it was too high and brittle, and cast several little bells out of it to try the sound and strength, and fixed upon a mixture of an ounce and a half of copper to one pound of the old bell, and in this proportion we now have it."

The "ingenious workmen" referred to in the above letter, were — Pass, from the island of Malta, and — Stow, a son of Charles Stow, the door-keeper of the Council.

This American bell was hung up in its place early in 1753, as will appear by the following bill: —

PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 17, 1753.

The Province,

TO EDMUND WOOLEY, Dr.

For sundrys advanced for raising the Bell Frame and putting up the Bell.

A peck Potatoes, 2s. 9d. : 14 lbs. Beef, at 4s. 8d. ; 4 Gammons, 36	
lb. at 6d. — 18s.	£1 6 5
Mustard, Pepper, Salt. Butter	0 2 0
A Cheese, 13 lb. at 6d. — 6s. 6d. ; Beef 30 lb. at 4d. — 10s. ; a	
peck Potatoes, 2s. 7d.	0 19 1
300 Limes, 14s. 3 gallons Rum, of John Jones, 14s.	1 8 0
36 Loaves of Bread, of Lacey, ye Baker	0 9 0
Cooking and Wood, 8s. Earthenware and Candles, of Duchee,	
13s. 4d.	0 11 4
A barrel of Beer, of Anthony Morris	0 18 0
	<hr/>
	£5 13 10

Errors excepted, ED. WOOLEY.

¹ This same mariner also brought over gratuitously the bells for Christ Church, which in consequence were always made upon his arrival in port to chime forth their grateful greetings.

Mr. Norris in his letter to Robert Charles, under date of 14th April, while admitting that they had "made the mould in a masterly manner, and run the metal well," complains that after it was hung up in its place it was found to contain too much copper, and that Pass & Stow "were so teased with the witticisms of the town" that they asked permission to cast it over again.

Their proposition was acceded to, though Lister (or Sister) the original bell founder also offered his services; and in June, 1753, the second essay of a bell by Pass & Stow was placed in position in the State House steeple, — duly announced in the papers of the day.

The "Maryland Gazette" of Thursday, July 5, 1753, published at Annapolis, says: —

"PHILADELPHIA, *June 7th*, 1753. Last week was raised and fixed in the State House steeple, the new great Bell, cast here by Pass and Stow, weighing 2080 lbs. with this motto, 'Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. — Lev. xxv. 10.'"

Pass & Stow were paid in September following £60 13s. 5d.

There seems to have existed a contrariety of opinion as to the acceptability of this second bell.

The English founder was ordered to send over another of his make. Mr. Norris, however (who owned he did not like the other), on its arrival, admitted that the "difference in comparing them is not very great." This resulted, by order of the Assembly on August 13, 1754, in the retention of both bells, though as far as can be ascertained our American bell continued to be used, without any further effort to amend its sound, with experiences and vicissitudes presently to be recounted, for at least threescore and three years.

Besides the government purposes to which this bell was put, we find it was sometimes used to call together for service the various congregations. Whether for this or other reasons complaint was made by petition from "divers inhabitants" living near the State House, setting forth they were much incommoded and distressed by the too frequent ringing of the great bell in the steeple of the State House, "the inconvenience of which has often been felt severely when some of the Petitioners families have been afflicted with sickness, at which times, from its uncommon size and unusual sound, it is extremely dangerous, and may prove fatal." They go on to protest that it was never designed to be rung on any other than public occasions, such as the times of the meeting of the honorable Assembly, and of the courts of justice, and they beg to be relieved from this "dangerous incon-

venience," at least so far as to prevent the ringing on any but public occasions.

It was determined March 11, 1752, that they would have a "large clock," too, which should "strike on the Bell in the Tower," and should have "a suitable dial plate to show the Hours and Minutes."

This latter was promptly ordered to be made in Philadelphia, "for," Mr. Norris says in one of his letters (March 10, 1753), "we expect it will prove better than any they would send us from England, where, when once they had it put out of their hands, they have done with it; but here the workman would be made very uneasy if he did not exert his utmost skill, as we do not stint him in the price of his labor."

Peter Stretch was paid in 1759, for making this clock, and for taking care thereof for six years, £494 5s. 5½d.

The movements of the clock were located in the middle of the main building, immediately under the roof, and in close proximity to the tower; these were connected by rods (running through pipes) at either end of the main building, with hands to a dial plate upon which the hours and minutes were distinctly marked.

The latter was protected by an ornamental case, in bold relief, and in imitation of the ordinary high clocks of the day there was constructed a jamb, which ran down to the ground.

Edward Duffield in January, 1762, succeeded Stretch in the important duty of winding and regulating the city clock, and was in turn succeeded in March, 1775, by no less a person than David Rittenhouse, who in his application therefor states that Edward Duffield no longer desires the position of

taking care of the public clock, and that "as he has charge of the time piece (most probably of his own construction) belonging to the Philosophical Society, *which is kept in the Observatory in the State House Square*, with the astronomical instruments for adjusting it, he conceives it would not be inconvenient for him to take charge also of the said public clock," etc. The compensation was £20 a year.

Thus it was David Rittenhouse who regulated the clock, which prescribed the *time* to the Members of Congress of 1776.

The State House was thus barely finished and fully occupied by all the members of the colonial government, when dissensions began which were destined never to be finally adjusted, under the existing regime. Some of these were peculiar to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania,



others incident to the proprietary form of government, while still the larger portion were such as affected all the colonies of America.

The State House was essentially the place where not only all these questions were debated in the Assembly itself, but the Council Chamber, the adjoining "Yard," and even the Banqueting Hall participate in the memories of these events.

Among the causes of dissension between the Governors and the Assembly were the efforts of the former to obtain supplies for the protection of the Provinces against the French and against the Indians. The peaceable principles professed by a majority of the Assembly were assigned as early as 1745, for not permitting them to join in raising men or providing arms and ammunition. "Yet," say they, in a communication to Governor Thomas, "we have ever held it our duty to render tribute to Cæsar," and hence they notified him of a resolution for "appropriating £4,000 to the King's use, to be expended in the purchase of bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, or other grain, and to be shipped for the King's service, as the Governor shall think most fit."

The Governor, at first indignant, seems to have received an intimation subsequently that "other grain" could be construed into *gunpowder*, which Franklin tells us was accordingly bought, and the Assembly never objected to it.

This evasive compliance thus answered its purpose very well, as long as active measures were pursued from and upon the soil of other colonies, but "Friends' principles" were more thoroughly tested a few years thereafter, when aggressions took place in Delaware Bay, though even then "an association" for defense was formed, and no aggressive measures as yet were required from the Assembly, who however, in a formal answer to President and Council frankly admitted, in regard to the preparations made for defense of the Province, their difficulty in expressing their sentiments.

"The most of us," say they to the Governor, "as well as many others within this Province, you know have professed ourselves principled against the bearing of Arms; and yet as we enjoy the Liberties of our own Consciences, we think it becomes us to leave others in the free Exercise of theirs. The assistance you have thought fit to give the Associators, we make no doubt arose from a Sense of what you believed your Duty. And the zeal and Activity many of them have shewn on the Occasion, we *suppose* may have arisen from the Love they bear to the Country. And as we are willing to make charitable Constructions on their Conduct, we hope the like charitable Sentiments will prevail with them concerning us, and others like principled,

when we have repeatedly declared we cannot in Conscience join with any Preparations of this Kind.

“As we have the honour of representing the whole Province, in which, we know, there are Numbers of People, whose judgments in the Point we have mentioned, do not exactly correspond with ours, we think it no Inconsistency, notwithstanding any Things we have said, to add, that we acknowledge, with Gratitude, the Regard the Lords of the Admiralty are pleased to shew for protecting the Trade of the Province: And also the kindness shown by our Proprietaries in soliciting for it—Nor have we less Grateful Sentiments of the kindness of our neighboring Government of New York as we believe their intentions were good, and it may have quieted the Minds of divers of our Inhabitants; though it is a Favour we could not have asked, being intended for such a Mode of defence, in which we do not place our Confidence.”

As the French and Indian war came on apace, the frontiers of Pennsylvania were threatened, invaded, and the defenceless inhabitants butchered by the Indians. This demanded something more from the peaceable principles of the Assembly, and Governor Hamilton “earnestly entreated them” to enable him “to discharge the indispensable duty of every government to protect and take care of its inhabitants.” This entreaty, though reiterated by Governor Robert Hunter Morris, requiring the establishment of a regular militia, met with little effect until 24th July, 1755, when the Governor, having summoned the Assembly in special session, communicated “the melancholy accounts of the defeat of the forces under the immediate command of General Braddock, which,” he goes on to say, “you will find is attended with very shocking circumstances; the General killed, and most of the officers that were in the action are either killed or wounded; the bulk of the men cut off, the whole train of artillery taken. Colonel Dunbar is now retreating with the remains of the army to Fort Cumberland.

“This unfortunate and unexpected change in our Affairs will deeply affect every one of his Majesty’s Colonies, but none of them in so sensible a manner as this Province which having no Militia, is thereby left exposed to the cruel Incursions of the French, and their barbarous Indians, who delight in shedding human Blood, and who make no distinction as to age or Sex—as to those that are armed against them, or such as they can surprize in their peaceful Habitations—all are alike the objects of their Cruelty,—slaughtering the tender Infant and frighted Mother with equal Joy and Fierceness.

To such Enemies, spurred on by the native Cruelty of their Tempers, encouraged by their late Success, and having now no Army to fear, are the Inhabitants of this Province exposed — and by such must we now expect to be overrun if we do not immediately prepare for our own Defence; nor ought we to content ourselves with this, but resolve to drive and confine the French to their own just Limits.

“This, Gentlemen, however gloomy the present Appearances of Things may be, is certainly in the power of the British Colonies to do; and this is not only their truest and most lasting Interest but their highest Duty — The Eastern Governments have already gone a great way towards removing that faithless but active People from their Borders; let us follow the noble Example they have set us, shew ourselves worthy of the Name of Englishmen, and, by a vigorous exertion of our Strength, dislodge the Enemy from our Frontiers, and secure the future Peace and Safety of the Province; for we may assure ourselves, that while they possess the Countries they have unjustly seized we shall never truly enjoy either.”

The only response given, even now, was the passage of a bill granting £50,000 to the king's use; but involving a requirement that the estates of the Proprietary should be proportionably taxed. To this the Governor objected as not within the bounds of his authority to assent to.

William Allen, William Plumsted, Joseph Turner, the McCalls, and other public spirited citizens, at once came forward to heal the breach by subscribing the £500 which it was estimated would be the amount of tax to be paid by the Penn family. The names of these gentlemen — and most of them are still represented in our midst, — besides those named who gave one half of the whole, were: —

Samuel McCall,
John Wilcocks,
Thomas Catwalader,
Alexander Huston,
Amos Strettall,
Joseph Sims,
Samuel Mifflin,
Joseph Wood,

John Kearsley,
David Franks,
John Kearsley, Jr.,
John Gibson,
John Wallace,
George Okill,
Townsend White,
John Bell,

But this generous offer was unavailing; the Governor, whose patience seems to have been exhausted, sent a message in writing on the 21st August, stating that he had on 9th “recommended to you to establish a Militia for the safety and defence of the Province, and having frequently before recommended the same thing, but received no

answer, I then desired you would give me an explicit answer upon the subject. I do, therefore, now call upon you, and insist on a plain and categorical answer, whether you will or will not establish a Militia, that his Majesty and his Ministers may be informed whether at this time of danger the Province of Pennsylvania is to be put into a posture of defence or not."

The Assembly rejoined they had promised to provide for the safety and defense of the Province already; but as the elections would soon take place they would adjourn, and leave the question of a Militia to the new Legislature.

But the new Assembly, we find, was taxed by the Governor with having, after "a sitting of six days, instead of strengthening my hands, and providing for the safety and defence of the people and the province in this time of imminent danger, you have sent me a message, wherein you talk of regaining the affections of the Indians now employed in laying waste the country and butchering the inhabitants, and of inquiring what injustice they have received, and into the causes of their falling from their alliance with us, and taking part with the French," etc.

The House had, however, within these six days, passed a law appropriating £60,000 to the King's use, for deficiencies in "purchasing provisions for the King's forces, erecting and maintaining posts, payment of expenses, clearing of roads, maintaining of Indians, and other heavy charges for the King's use," though some Friends took care to have entered on the journals their names as dissentients, viz. : —

James Pemberton,	William Peters,
Joseph Trotter,	Peter Worrall,
Joshua Morris,	Francis Parvin,
Thomas Cummings.	

Several of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia now thought it time to lay before the House an energetic "representation."

"At a Time when a bold and barbarous Enemy has advanced within about One Hundred Miles of this Metropolis, carrying Murder and Desolation along with them; and when we see our Country already stained with the Blood of many of its Inhabitants, and upwards of a Thousand Families, who very lately enjoyed Peace and Comfort in their own Habitations, now dispersed over the Province, many of them in the most miserable and starving Condition, exposed to all the Hardships and Severity of the Season : — We say, in such a Situation, we should think ourselves greatly wanting in Regard for our personal Safety, as well as in Compassion for our bleeding and suffering Fellow-Subjects,

if we did not thus publicly join our Names to the Number of those who are requesting you to pass a Law, in order to put the Province in a Posture of Defence and put a Stop to those cruel and savage Outrages, which must otherwise soon prove our Ruin.

“We hope we shall always be enabled to preserve that Respect to you, which we would willingly pay to those who are the faithful Representatives of the Freemen of this Province. But, on the present Occasion you will forgive us, Gentlemen, if we assume Characters something higher than that of humble Suitors praying for the Defence of our Lives and Properties, as a matter of Grace and Favor on your Side: *You will permit us to make a positive and immediate Demand of it*, as a matter of perfect and unalienable Right on our own Parts, both by the Laws of God and Man.”

Within a few days intelligence came that the Indians had fallen upon the inhabitants of Tulpehocken, and destroyed them, and reiterated demands were made for a Militia Law. The Assembly, thus pressed, was induced to pass a bill, the imbecility of which is sufficiently obvious from its title: “An Act for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous to be united for military purposes.” The very preamble of which declared that the majority of the Assembly were principled against bearing arms, and that any law compelling persons thereto would be in violation “of the fundamentals of the Constitution, and be a direct breach of the privileges of the People.”

It was approved by the Governor, though pronounced by him impracticable; and was “disallowed,” by the King, “as in every respect the most improper and inadequate to the service which could have been framed and passed, and seems rather calculated to exempt persons from military service than to encourage and promote them.”

The Governor now boldly charges the Assembly in the framing of supply bills, professedly for the King’s use, with resorting to “a double view, to wit: either wholly to avoid giving money for *warlike purposes*, or by means of the country’s distress to arrogate powers which Assemblies here never have, and from the nature of our Constitution, never ought to be in, possession of.”

The Mayor of the city, with the Aldermen and Common Council, now laid before the Assembly an earnest appeal:—

“In the most solemn manner before God, and in the name of all of our fellow-citizens, we call upon you, adjure you,—nay, supplicate you,—as you regard the lives of the people whom you represent, to give that legal protection to your bleeding country which ought to be the chief object of all government at such a perilous juncture as this.

and let it be no longer said that, while we are daily hearing so much concerning privilege and right, we are in the meantime deprived of that most essential right, and great first privilege (which God and Nature gave us), of defending our lives and protecting our families."

Thus urged, it was attempted in the Assembly to pass a bill for regulating such soldiers as are raised, paid, and maintained within this Province; and it was negatived 17 to 13. Franklin, Stretch, Fox, Kirkbride, and others, voting in the affirmative, while staunch James Pemberton, Joseph Trotter, Joshua Morris, Richard Pearne, and others, were still true to their principles under this ordeal, — an ordeal which was but the precursor of what some of them were, within twenty years, to renew even under more trying circumstances.

Franklin, however, who was one of the Commissioners under the act for granting £60,000 to the King's use, represented to the Assembly that there was an absolute necessity for an immediate law for the better regulation of the soldiers; this induced the adoption of a Bill with two voices still dissenting — James Pemberton and Peter Worrall. These two gentlemen, with four others, finding, as they said, many of their constituents "seem of opinion that the present situation of public affairs calls upon us for services in a military way, which, from a conviction of judgment, after mature deliberation, we cannot comply with; we conclude it most conducive to the peace of our own minds, and the reputation of our religious profession, to persist in our resolution of resigning our seats."

Among those now elected was one name destined to become famous in the annals of Independence Hall. John Morton was sent as representative of the County of Chester, June 28, 1756.

Upon the next following election four "Friends" were still returned; but say they, promptly, "understanding that the ministry have requested the Quakers, who from the first settlement of this colony have been the majority of the assemblies of this province, to suffer their seats, during the difficult situation of the affairs of the colonies to be filled by members of other denominations, in such manner as to prepare without scruple all such laws as may be necessary for the defence of the Province, therefore we request to be excused, and to be permitted to vacate our seats." Permission was given accordingly.

Even now, differences between the Governor and the Assembly prevented the adoption of a satisfactory militia law, though the requirements of the Province, and its duty as a sister colony in detaching troops for general protection, seem to have been unhesitatingly admitted by the House.

It was at this epoch, and for the purposes of mutual protection against the Indians and the French, that the plan of Union of the Colonies was first broached¹ within the walls of the State House.

The suggestion emanated from Governor George Clinton, of New York, and was first laid before the House on 5th September, 1745, by Governor George Thomas in a message warmly approving of a union of all the British Northern Colonies, in which Virginia and Maryland were to be included. Governor Clinton invited Pennsylvania to send Commissioners to Albany to treat with other Commissioners "upon concerting measures for our mutual security, defence, and conduct during the present war."

The Pennsylvania Legislature in its reply to the Governor, promised cheerfully to concur, if the scheme were generally acceded to by the other colonies. Governor Thomas reiterated his request on 20th May, following, to which the Legislature responded, "it does not appear to us that a meeting of Commissioners for New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania only, would be of any great service; therefore, as formerly, we think it best to postpone our particular resolutions in the affair until the determination of the other colonies be made known to us."

The Governor again pressed the point, and desired to be enabled to coöperate with the four northern governments, by the appointment of Commissioners, expressing the belief that it was not to be doubted but that the two southern governments would readily accede to it.

The former were to meet on the 20th of July, 1746; but the Assembly again demurred, assigning as a reason the belief that their coöperation would not be needed; "besides which," say they, "the Governor must be sensible that men of our peaceable principles cannot consistently therewith join in persuading the Indians to engage in the war."

Thus, for the time being, the project failed; but it was renewed again during the first administration of Governor James Hamilton, and at the instance of no less a person than the Earl of Holderness, and the Lords of Trade, who employ the phrase "at the King's command." "I have it," says the former, "particularly in charge from his Majesty to acquaint you that it is his Royal will and pleasure that you should keep up an exact correspondence with all his Majesty's Governors on the Continent, and in case you shall be informed by any of them of any

¹ The earliest plan or scheme for a union of the colonies in a representative body, and for general intercolonial purposes, was suggested by William Penn, as early as 1698.

hostile attempts, you are immediately to call together the General Assembly within your government, and lay before them the necessity of a mutual assistance." The Lords of Trade were even more explicit

By His Majesty's Command.
H. Dornick.

in directing the subject to be laid before the Assembly, and to recommend forthwith a proper provision for appointing Commissioners to be joined with those of the other governments, etc.

Simultaneously with this important scheme for combined action, pregnant with future greatness, the name of WASHINGTON was first uttered in this Hall.

Governor Dinwiddie reported, upon February 14th, 1754, the well-known mission of Major Washington to the French fort on the Ohio, with its results, — the response of Monsieur Legardeur de St. Pierre, and the avowal of the commencement of hostilities on the part of France.

The Pennsylvania Assembly complied with the royal instructions, so far as to authorize the Governor, if he should think it may be for the interest of the Province, to appoint Commissioners, etc. Whereupon the Governor appointed, with the sanction of the House, Messrs. JOHN PENN and RICHARD PETERS, of the Council, and Messrs. ISAAC NORRIS and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, of the Assembly.

The ground now taken, though in this case only applicable to Indian affairs, was ever afterwards steadily maintained, that no propositions for the Union of the Colonies can effectually answer the good purposes or be *binding* further than they are confirmed by laws enacted under the several governments comprised in that Union.

The Governor's speech to the Assembly in the Council Chamber, on 7th August, 1754, — transmitting the plan adopted, at the instance of Dr. Franklin, by the Commissioners for this purpose, — closes for the present our trace of "the origin of the Union." He said: —

"After a due and weighty reflection on these several matters, the

IN ASSEMBLY Sept. 24 1756

THIS is to certify, that *Benjamin Franklin*
has attended as a Member of Assembly for the ~~County~~
City of Philadelphia. 108 Days, at Six Shil-
lings per Diem, for which there is due to him the Sum of
Twenty two Pounds, Eight Shillings

Signed, by Order of the House,

James Mifflin
Speaker

To
The Treasurer of the County of *Philad.* for the Time Being

Rec^d of W^r Leech Thirty Pounds
(30. 4. 10) Four fullings & temporary of the
L^d 2: 3: 2 within Order of me
B. Franklyn

Rec^d the Remainer

Franklyn

Commissioners thought it necessary to consider and draw up a representation of the present state of the colonies. And from thence judging that no effectual opposition was like to be made to the destructive measures of the French, but by a UNION of them all for their mutual defence, they devised likewise a general plan for that purpose to be offered to the consideration of the respective legislatures.

“And as both these papers appear to me to contain matters of the utmost consequence to the welfare of the Colonies in general and to have been digested and drawn up with great clearness and strength of judgment, I cannot but express my approbation of them and do therefore recommend them to you as well worthy your closest and most serious attention.”

The Assembly declined notwithstanding to entertain the plan; it met with no more favor from the other colonies generally nor yet from the “Home Government.”

On 15th April, 1756, the Governor announced to the Assembly that he had declared war against the Delaware Indians — stating that the Commissioners under the £60,000 Act had proposed to him to offer rewards for taking Indian prisoners and *scalps* — a proposition which we find was subsequently carried into effect and Indian scalps were actually paid for by the Government.

On 3d February, 1757, occurs an entry in the Journal: “Mr. Speaker and Mr. Franklin being called upon by the House to declare whether they would comply with the request of the House in going home to England to solicit a redress of our grievances, Mr. Franklin said that he esteemed the nomination by the House to that service as an high honor, but that he thought that if the Speaker could be prevailed upon to undertake it [the Speaker having practically just declined in consequence of ill health], his long experience in our public affairs and great knowledge and abilities would render the addition of another unnecessary. That he held himself honored in the disposition of the House and ‘was ready to go whenever they should think fit to require his services.’”

Unanimous thanks given, etc., and Benjamin Franklin was appointed Agent of the Province. William Franklin had leave to resign his position as clerk to accompany his father. An interesting relic of this period is here presented — the certificate for pay of Dr. Franklin as a member of the Assembly, with his endorsed receipt for part on account, and the receipt of Deborah Franklin, his wife, for the residue, after Franklin had gone to England.

Considerable alarm was soon afterwards produced by the success of the French arms ; their army, estimated at 11,000 Regulars, Canadians, and Indians, and a large train of artillery, after a successful attack upon Fort William Henry, was threatening Albany and even New York city. The Governor, addressing himself to the Assembly, declared, August 16th, 1757 : —

“ It is not my intention to aggravate our present Distress by a painful Review of what is past ; but can I, Gentlemen consistent with my duty, forbear to mention that this Province has been the unhappy seat of a cruel War for upwards of two Years groaning under the bloody Outrages of a most barbarous Enemy, the Troops sent to our protection defeated and destroyed, our Borders pillaged and laid waste, great Numbers murdered and carried into Captivity, and Eleven Thousand of the Enemy at this instant in the Heart of a Neighboring Province, at present carrying all before them ; while we amidst this Series of Misfortunes, are neither put into a Sufficient Posture to defend ourselves, nor have Power or authority out of the vast number of fighting Men this Government contains, to send a single Man of them to the relief of our Neighbors, without calling in the ranging parties that are constantly out and evacuating the few Garrisons we have on our Frontiers now more than ever necessary for their Defence. These things Gentlemen are so surprizing in their Nature, that they would exceed all Credibility, if the Facts were not too Flagrant and too fatally felt. Let me therefore entreat you if you make a distinction between Liberty and Slavery, between your inestimable Privileges as Englishmen, and a miserable Subjection to arbitrary Power, to embrace this opportunity, perhaps the last to retrieve as much as possible, former Errors and act vigorously, as your All is now at stake.”

The Assembly at once empowered the Governor to march a part of the troops of the Province to the assistance of the colony of New York, “ in immediate danger of being lost to the crown,” and they authorized the Commissioners to give a bounty to one thousand volunteers, at the option of the Governor, and to supply them with arms and ammunition. They further addressed themselves to comply with the requisition for a permanent militia ; but the bill which they framed was amended by the Governor in order “ to make an equitable and constitutional militia law,” while the Assembly, though no longer impeded by the presence of the Quakers, rejected the amendments because they would “ oblige the inhabitants to take a test as to their religious and conscientious scruples,” gave the Governor the appointment of the officers without the sanction of the people, and besides exempted the proprietary estates.

On 8th March, 1758, the tones of William Pitt resounded in the

Assembly room urging the necessity of providing troops for active operations against the French, whereupon the Legislature at once responded. They appropriated one hundred thousand pounds and ordered two thousand seven hundred men to be enlisted for the campaign — more men, say they, than a full share according to the proportions required of this Province — thus essentially contributing to the capture of Fort Du Quesne and to the subsequent complete destruction of the French power in America.

The death of George II. produced a ripple of excitement in the loyal city of Philadelphia, and was communicated formally to the House, January 27, 1761 — the usual “glorious memory” of the defunct sovereign, and the “universal applause” conceded to the live one upon his accession, etc., with the appropriate besprinkling of condolences and congratulations, formed the staple of messages and responses.

The curtain now rises upon the last individual monarch of America with as much applause and as many *encores* as had ever greeted the royal majesty of England — almost simultaneously appeared, September 7, 1762, for the first time in the House, the man who was destined more than any other to guide the fortunes of Pennsylvania, and incidentally to mould those of America as an independent sovereignty. JOHN DICKINSON on that day “was qualified and took his seat” — he had been returned as a member on 12th May preceding, at a special session of short duration.

A public meeting was called in the State House Yard by the Governor, on 4th February, 1764, to resist what is popularly known as “the March of the Paxton boys against Philadelphia.”

This threatened “invasion” was occasioned by the effort to secure some Indian murderers of frontiersmen as was claimed, though it was believed that the inhabitants of Lancaster County (whose appetite for blood had been whetted by some murders

George B.

George B.

they had already committed in their own borough) were really desirous, in an indiscriminating retaliation against the Indians, to sacrifice to the Manes of their murdered friends a large body of inoffensive savages. These Indians were being christianized by the Moravians and they had placed themselves under the protection of the Province.¹

This meeting duly held at the State House, resulted in the prompt organization of a large force of citizens, to assist, in case of need, the handful of troops stationed at the barracks, where the Indians, one hundred and twenty-seven in number, men, women and children, were quartered. Even the Quakers are said to have borne their share of *these* military preparations. The approaching rioters were estimated at from seven to fifteen hundred, but on sight dwindled down to two hundred; they made a halt upon their arrival on Sunday evening at Germantown; there they were interviewed and after satisfying themselves (or prudentially pretending to do so) that the murderers whom they sought were not among the friendly Indians sheltered at the barracks, in town, they dispersed and returned home again.

A caricature of the day burlesques the march of the City's Defenders up the hill and down again.

After the accession of John Penn to the government of Pennsylvania, the difficulties between the Proprietary family and the Legislature seemed to culminate in the persistent objections made by the former to the taxation of their uncultivated lands in the country; it resulted in an earnest application to the King to take the government into his own hands, making equitable compensation to the Proprietaries. In their petition "to the King's most Excellent Majesty," to this end, they ascribe "the great obstructions to your Majesty's service and the mischief to the Province during the last two wars" entirely to the Proprietary form of government, and instanced the fact that the disagreements, thence inevitably resulting, had occasioned generally the surrender of the power of government to the crown, where the colonies had been settled under this form.

They instructed their agents to press the application in every way consistent with the retention of their original essential rights as

¹ The Governor at the same time communicated the facts to the Assembly and earnestly recommended the passage of a Militia law for the purpose not only of defending the Indians, but supporting the government itself, thus threatened by a licentious set of people, "who, have already given abundant proof, that neither religion, humanity, or laws, are objects of their consideration or of sufficient might to restrain them."

To show their loyalty something did Sign
Williams in the morning me at table that day
and so you said it would turn out to be?
Was it not the same as the other time?
The same thing as the story of Helen in the novel
the bad man makes himself then to say that
the first best to please the people's love
He was not to show us in the end.

To hide the Indians they took their arms
When Guns on their shoulders and on their backs
A number of white boys were sent to help them in fighting
Some declare that their guns were many in number.

After Commencement the students of the Georgia House
for the first time had a meeting and for
the first time were the students of the Georgia House
meeting. Finally the House was closed.

THE MARCH OF "THE PAXTON BOYS,"
ON PHILADELPHIA.
AND WHAT CAME OF IT.
(SCENE AT THE COURT HOUSE, OR TOWN HALL.)

British subjects, as well as those specifically granted by the charter of Charles II. to Penn, and confirmed by the laws of the Province and the Royal assent. The propriety of this careful reservation was just now beginning to make itself manifest; its all-absorbing interest effectively cured all smaller grievances.

In the autumn of this year (1764), *the* great event of the eighteenth century commenced to unfold itself.

Privy Purse in 1753.



Privy Purse in 1763.



The ministerial scheme of filling the shrunken purse of George III. by the imposition of taxes in America, fixed by the British Parliament and without reference to the Colonial legislatures, now assumed definite shape.

The Colony of Massachusetts took the lead in entering the protest of the Colonies. As early as June 13th of this year, the House of Representatives of that Province instructed its agent, Israel Mauduit, to use his endeavors to obtain a repeal of "the Sugar Act," and to exert himself to prevent a Stamp Act or any other impositions and taxes upon that and the other American Provinces, and on behalf of Massachusetts invited the other colonies to *join* in the same measure. The official letter, signed by JAMES OTIS, THOMAS CUSHING, OXENBRIDGE THACHER, and by Thomas Gray and Edward Sheaffe, was laid before the Pennsylvania Assembly on the second day of their session, September 11th, 1764.

The Massachusetts Bay asks the *united* assistance of the several Colonies against the formidable attacks upon what it conceives to be the inseparable rights of British subjects, and desires that the agents of the several Colonies may be directed by the Representatives of the people on the Continent of North America to unite in the most serious

remonstrance against measures destructive of the Liberty, the Commerce, and Property of the Colonists, and in their tendency pernicious to the real interest of Great Britain.

James Otis
Thomas Cushing
Oxenbridge Teacher

Thomas Gray
Law Sheaffe

Benjamin Franklin, the Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, was promptly instructed to direct the Agent to guard the Colony against these and all other impositions while at the same time assuring the Home Government that a plan is being formed "to grant the necessary aids to the Crown and to contribute to the general defence that will not destroy or infringe the natural and legal rights of the Colonies or affect those of the Mother Country."

"INSTRUCTIONS TO RICHARD JACKSON.

"The Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, having received Information of the Resolutions of the House of Commons respecting the Stamp Duties and other Taxes proposed to be laid on the British Colonies, do most humbly conceive that the measures proposed as aforesaid if carried into execution, will have a Tendency to deprive the good People of this Province of their most essential Rights as British Subjects and of the Rights granted to them by the Royal Charter of King Charles the Second, and confirmed by Laws of this Province, which have received the Royal Approbation.

September
22, 1764.

"The House of Assembly therefore most earnestly request you will exert your utmost endeavours with the Ministry and Parliament to prevent any such impositions and Taxes or any other Impositions or Taxes on the Colonists from being laid by the Parliament inasmuch as they neither are or can be represented, under their present Circumstances in that Legislature: Nor can the Parliament, at the great Distance they are from the Colonies, be properly informed, so as to enable them to lay such Taxes and Impositions with Justice and Equity, the Circumstances of the Colonies being all different one from the other."

Before yet a month had elapsed the brave little colony of Rhode Island sends to the Pennsylvania Assembly a communication dated October 8th, also calling attention to the anticipated Act of Parliament. "The impositions already laid on the trade of these Colonies," say they through Stephen Hopkins, "must have very fatal consequences, but the act in embryo for establishing stamp duties if effected will further drain the people and strongly point out their servitude. The resolution of the House of Commons that they have a right to tax the Colonies if carried into execution will leave us nothing to call our own."

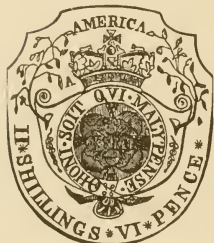
The Rhode Island letter evoked a unanimous resolution from the Pennsylvania Assembly to enforce the instructions already given to their agents in London to remonstrate against the Stamp Act and all other acts of Parliament by which heavy burdens have been laid on the Colonies; still the response given to Stephen Hopkins was conservative.

These matters of deep concern induced the House to enforce still more strongly their instructions by sending another agent "to join with and assist" Mr. Jackson.

Franklin was designated and was elected notwithstanding a remonstrance from a number of inhabitants of Philadelphia, who objected to this selection because "Mr. Franklin has had a principal hand in proposing and promoting the petitions for a change of Government which now appear" say they "contrary to the sentiments of more than three fourths of the Province;" it was resolved, "That Benjamin Franklin, Esq., be and he is hereby appointed to embark with all convenient despatch for Great Britain."

The murmurs of disapprobation which rolled from Massachusetts to the Carolinas and back again, found vent in a masterly protest from the pen of Samuel Adams. Deaf to the appeal, Parliament, late in March of 1765, passed the celebrated Stamp Act, enforcing the collection of "a duty" (evidenced by a stamp) upon every paper used in

judicial proceedings, in commercial transactions, and even in the daily amusements of the people, reaching pamphlets, newspapers, almanacs, playing cards. The Act was not, however, to go into operation till the first of November, but tidings of its passage reached America towards the middle of April.



At first the colonists admitted themselves almost stupefied by the blow, the tendency of which was at once proclaimed to reduce the Colonies to slavery, but "the spirit of liberty informed the Press, we began to collect our scattered thoughts our privileges were set forth in a clear and striking light, which the latent spark of patriotism enkindled at once, and flew like lightning from breast to breast, it flowed from every tongue and Pen, and Press, till it diffused itself through every part of British America, it *united* us all — we seemed to be animated by one spirit and that spirit was LIBERTY."

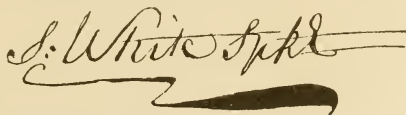
In legislative assemblies Patrick Henry opened the ball in his well known speech before the House of Burgesses. "Virginia gave the signal to the Continent," wrote the British Commander-in-chief, and was promptly answered by Massachusetts, which at the instance of James Otis demanded a convention or union of all the Colonies that greater effect might be given to their resistance.

Massachusetts unhesitatingly makes a formal appeal to her sister Colonies. Her communication received in the recess was promptly answered by the Speaker, who laid both letters before the Pennsylvania Assembly upon their re-assembling on 10th September, 1765. Here was the first germ — the first practical suggestion for an actual union in counsel to secure the preservation of their rights and liberties, and in the same chamber which ultimately witnessed the fruition of "the more perfect union" of the present day. It is entitled to be presented in *verbis ipsissimis*.

PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, BOSTON, June 8, 1765.

SIR, — The House of Representatives of this Province, in the present Session of the General Court, have unanimously agreed to propose a *Meeting*, as soon as may be, of *Committees from the Houses of Representatives*, or *Burgesses of the several British Colonies on this Continent*, to consult together on the present Circumstances of the Colonies, and the Difficulties to which they

are and must be reduced, by the Operation of the Acts of Parliament for levying Duties and Taxes on the Colonies, and to consider of a general and united, dutiful, loyal, and humble Representation of their Condition to his Majesty and the Parliament, and to implore Relief. The House of Representatives of this Province have also voted to propose, that such Meeting be at the City of New York, in the Province of New York, on the first Tuesday of October next, and have appointed a Committee of three of their members to attend that Service, with such as the other Houses of Representatives or Burgesses in the several Colonies may think fit to appoint to meet them; and the Committee of the House of Representatives of this Province are directed to repair to New York on said first Tuesday of October next, accordingly. If, therefore, your Honorable House should agree to this Proposal, it would be acceptable, that as early Notice of it as possible might be transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of this Province.



*To the Speaker of the House of
Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania.*

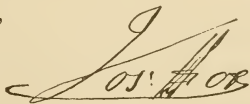
The response was prompt, —

PHILADELPHIA, June 27, 1765.

*To the Honorable the Speaker of the House of
Representatives for the Province of Massachusetts Bay.*

SIR, — Your favor of the Eighth Instant coming to Hand in the Recess of our Assembly, I thought proper to convene such members thereof as were in and near the city, to consider of your Proposal of a Congress at New York, in October next, to consist of Committees from the Houses of Representatives of the Several British Colonies on the Continent and the business to be then transacted; which being UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED by the Gentlemen who met, we have agreed to lay the same before our House, at their meeting on the Ninth of September Next; and you may be assured I shall not fail to transmit you, by the first opportunity afterwards, the Result of their Deliberations thereon. In the mean Time I have the Honor to be with great Respect

Sir, your most obedient humble servant,



Speaker.

The House, when convened formally, *unanimously* confirmed the Speaker's view and appointed a committee of three, with Mr. Speaker FOX, to attend the proposed Congress at New York, — JOHN DICKIN-

SON, GEORGE BRYAN, and JOHN MORTON. The three last mentioned were, with Wm. Allen, George Taylor, and a few others, appointed a committee to draft instructions. These were cautiously worded; while authorized to consult with the other colonies, and to join in petitions imploring relief from the late acts of Parliament, the Delegates were strictly enjoined to use "the most decent and respectful terms," and to make a report of proceedings to the House.

It was also ordered that the Speaker should communicate their official acquiescence to the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

The Pennsylvania Assembly, in which John Dickinson was the able and patriotic leader, while thus careful to approach their sovereign in respectful and even humble terms, placed upon their Journals unequivocal evidences of their steadfast purpose to claim their rights under the British Constitution, nor were these resolutions suppressed, but having been passed unanimously, they were ordered to be published in the newspapers, German as well as English.

They pointed out the alacrity and liberality with which the Provincial Legislature had always met every requisition made by his Majesty, for carrying on military operations for the defense of America, and promised for the future every aid in men or money that might be needed for the public services of the British American Colonies for their defense or security, but they insisted that the inhabitants of Pennsylvania were entitled to every liberty, right, or privilege of subjects of Great Britain; "the Constitution of Government in this Province" say they, "is founded on the natural rights of mankind and the noble principles of English Liberty, and hence is, or ought to be perfectly free." After specifying the infringements attempted, they conclude that they deem it their duty, "thus firmly to assert, with modesty and decency, their inherent rights, that their posterity may learn and know that it was not with their consent and acquiescence, that any taxes should be levied by any Persons but their own Representatives, and they are desirous that these Resolves should remain as a Testimony of the zeal and ardent desire of the present House of Assembly to preserve their inestimable rights, which as Englishmen they have possessed ever since this Province was settled — and to transmit them to their latest Posterity."

"The Congress of 1765" had not yet fully assembled at New York, when, on Saturday the 5th October, the ship *Royal Charlotte*, under the command of Captain Holland, and bearing the dreaded stamped papers for Pennsylvania, Jersey, and Maryland, was reported coming up the Delaware, rounding Gloucester Point. She was under convoy

of the royal man-of-war, the *Sardine*. Immediately the State House Bell, and the bells of Christ Church, were muffled and tolled ; and all the ships in port displayed their colors at half mast.

In the afternoon, a public town meeting of several thousand citizens was held at the State House to prevent the landing of the stamps. Addresses were delivered by several prominent merchants and lawyers, declaring the act unconstitutional and void ; and delegates were appointed to wait immediately upon John Hughes, the stamp master, — who it was said had been appointed for Pennsylvania at the instance of his friend Dr. Franklin, — to demand his resignation. Mr. Hughes temporized with the Committee, but as he was seriously ill in bed the Committee asked indulgence at the hands of the meeting which had awaited the reply, and which then adjourned till the following Monday. Upon reassembling in the square on the 7th, a letter was read from Mr. Hughes, pledging himself to take no action except in conformity with that of the neighboring colonies. Huzzas at first greeted this concession, but they were soon changed to hisses upon the claim of one of the leaders that Mr. Hughes should have responded by an immediate resignation of the office of stamp master, absolutely and unequivocally.¹ Still the dissatisfaction took no form of violence, though it resulted in the transfer of all the stamps to the royal ship without any attempt to land them.

The circumstances attending this practical defeat of the Act, seem fully to justify the self congratulations of the newspapers of the day, on the public spirit displayed, as well as the moderation with which the measures were enforced.

But the Merchants of Philadelphia, all honor to their memory, saw that this was not enough. The Act must be repealed, and until its repeal, measures should be devised to frustrate its future enforcement. It was determined, by striking directly at their commercial interests, to secure the coöperative influence of their friends and correspondents

¹ Thomas Bradford, the son of William, who was of the committee to wait on Mr. Hughes, subsequently carried the written demand for his resignation, and has left on record in his journal that Hughes endeavored to avoid the resignation of his office, alleging that he only knew of it by common report ; “ but,” says Mr. Bradford, “ being at the post-office, to which I had free admission, I saw a large letter bearing the English stamp office seal, directed to Mr. Hughes. This I immediately communicated to two or three of the Committee of Safety, who sat down and wrote a note to Mr. Hughes, with which I awaited upon him. He equivocated, and said he did not *know* he was appointed. I told him I had seen the package containing his commission, and that he had received it that day. This he could not deny, and made many trials to put me off. I compelled him to call his son and draw up his resignation, which satisfied the public.”

among the British merchants. Thomas Willing, Samuel Mifflin, Thomas Montgomery, Samuel Howell, Samuel Wharton, John Rhea, William Fisher, Joshua Fisher, Peter Chevalier, Benjamin Fuller, and Abel James were selected from among their number as a Committee. Resolutions were drawn up by which they *pledged their honors* to each other to require all new orders given for goods or merchandise in Great Britain not to be shipped, to countermand all former orders, and not even to receive goods for sale on commission, until and unless the Stamp Act should be repealed.

These resolutions bear date October 25, 1765, and within a fortnight were signed by three hundred and seventy-five of the most prominent merchants and citizens of Philadelphia.¹ This, "the first Pledge of Honor" in the record of our Independence, may be justly regarded as the forerunner, if not the actual prototype, of that national interchange of "lives, fortunes, and sacred honors" on the 4th of July, 1776, that has rendered its "Signers" famous.

The Shopkeepers of the time also appointed a Committee, and entered into an agreement not to buy British goods till the Stamp Act should be repealed. Their committee consisted of John Ord, Francis Wade, Joseph Deane, David Deshler, George Bartram, Andrew Doz, George Schlosser, James Hunter, Thomas Paschall, Thomas West, and Valentine Charles.

Similar action was taken in New York,² on 31st day of October, by

¹ The original document had been carefully preserved in the family of William Bradford, the publisher of *The Pennsylvania Journal*.

Thomas Bradford, then an apprentice to his father, and still a mere youth, states in his MS. journal that he was sent to procure many of the signatures, and that he had always treasured the document as the first public act of resistance to the oppressions of the British Crown. He confided it to his grandson, Col. William Bradford, some fifty years since, by whom it has been very properly deposited in the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. An authentic *fac-simile* has been accorded a prominent place in the National Museum.

² After a very able summary of the official proceedings of the Congress, and of the various colonial bodies, Mr. Bancroft proceeds to say: "Something more was needed to incline England to relent, and the merchants of New York on the last day of October, coming together unanimously bound themselves to send no new orders for goods or merchandise, to countermand all former orders, and not even to receive goods on commission unless the Stamp Act was repealed." A further eulogy on the city of New York as "the driver home of navigation, in renouncing all commerce, who, having no manufactures, yet gave up every comfort from abroad rather than continue trade at the peril of freedom; and who, assuming the post of greatest danger, sent expresses to invite the people of the neighboring government to join in the league, justly confident they would follow the example of New York." But see page 186, note.

THE STYLITE

Autographs of the Merchants and other Citizens of Philadelphia
as subscribed to the

FAC SIMILE
of the
Autographs of the Merchants and other Citizens of Philadelphia
as subscribed to the
NON-IMPORTATION RESOLUTIONS.

October 25th 1762

[illegible][illegible]

the Merchants, as well as by the Shopkeepers; and by those of Boston on 3d of December following.

It is deeply to be regretted that the original New York and Boston agreements cannot be found.

Every act requiring a stamp under the law was anticipated when feasible, and where not, it was determined to ignore the law altogether. We find even marriages consummated earlier than the day originally fixed, to avoid using stamps for licenses, since dispensing with these might involve very serious consequences legally. As the dreaded November 1st approached, no effort was left untried to render it a day of sadness and of gloom.

On the 31st day of October, the newspapers appeared in mourning for the death of Liberty, and declared an intention to suspend publication from "the fatal to-morrow, till means can be found to elude the chains forged for us."¹

The bells were rung muffled and every indication of grief for a national calamity adopted that ingenuity could invent. Still no hesitation appears at resorting to every means to make the law a practical nullity. While a large proportion determined and agreed among themselves to proceed in their usual avocations, regardless of stamps, it was rendered impossible to procure the latter, and no official recognition of the detested stamp was even allowed. The only stamped papers discovered in use by any vessel *trading* at Philadelphia, were intercepted and publicly burnt at the Coffee House.² The Stamp Act everywhere throughout the country became a dead letter, the stamp masters having resigned either voluntarily or by compulsion, and no stamps seem ever to have been officially distributed in any one of the thirteen colonies.

Four colonies were not represented at the Congress in New York: New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, while the representatives of Connecticut, New York, and North Carolina did not feel themselves authorized to sign the addresses to the King and to the two Houses of Parliament. These state papers succinctly set forth all the grievances of the colonies under fourteen heads, and were signed by the Delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. On the 7th January, 1766, they were laid before the Pennsylvania Assembly, which after passing a vote of thanks to their delegates, ordered the transmission of the addresses to England.

¹ See pages 56, 57, and 60.

² See page 59 for the only specimen extant rescued from the flames, from Du Simitiere's collection in the Philadelphia library.

The determined and uniform resistance produced its natural result, and the obnoxious law was finally repealed, March 18, 1766.

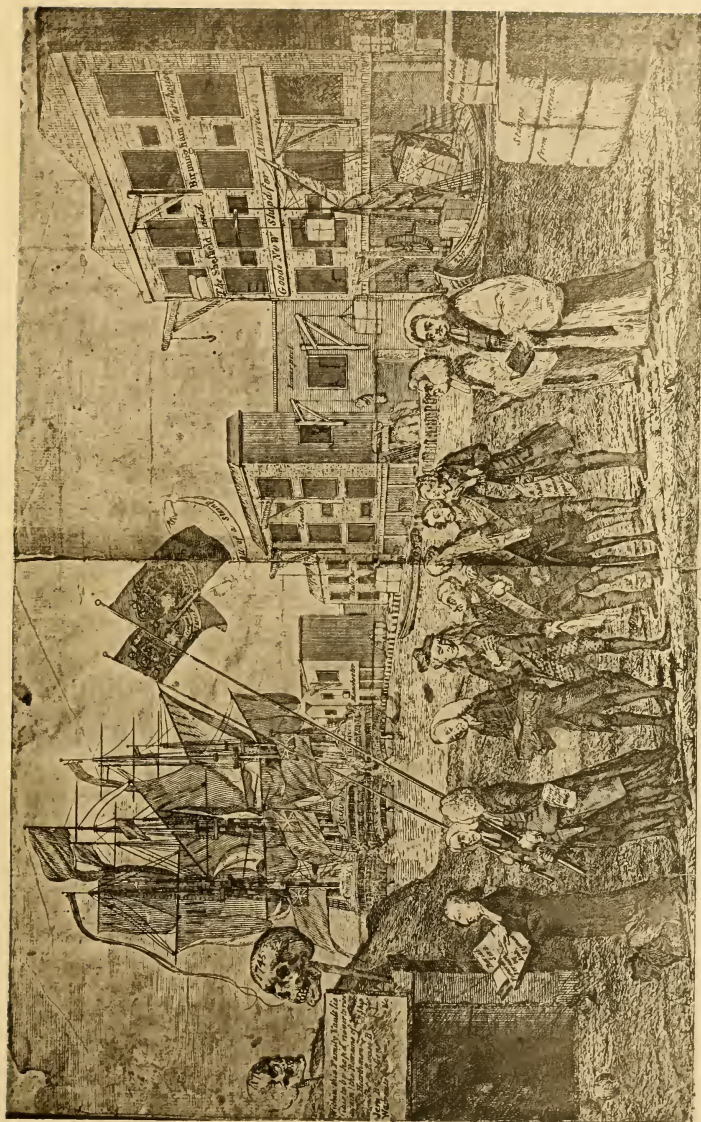
Rumors of the repeal had reached Philadelphia as early as 27th March, by the way of Ireland through Maryland, and they were reiterated, though not credited, early in April, but on (Monday morning) May 20th, the brig *Minerva*, Captain Wise, anchored opposite the town, and having been boarded by an "individual," the news was ascertained and the official copy of the repeal, printed by Baskett, the King's printer, was brought ashore and read aloud at the London Coffee House.

This Act recited the passage of the Act, at the previous session of Parliament, for applying certain stamp duties, etc. And that *Whereas the continuance of the said Act would be attended with many inconveniences and may be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interests of these Kingdoms;*

May it therefore please Your most Excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the First Day of May, One thousand seven hundred and sixty six, the above-mentioned Act, and the several Matters and Things therein contained, shall be, and is and are hereby repealed and made void to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever.

An immense crowd collected, and Captain Wise was brought ashore amid acclamations to enjoy a large bowl of punch, to drink prosperity to America. The next evening the city was grandly illuminated and numerous devices displayed, "for which," says the "Pennsylvania Gazette," "the public is indebted to the Ladies who exercised their fancies on the occasion."

Bonfires abounded, as did barrels of beer, and on the 21st we have to chronicle "an elegant entertainment at the State House," where the Governor (John Penn, then just about to be married to Anne Allen, elder daughter of William Allen the Chief Justice, and who was very probably awaiting this repeal for the purpose), the officers of the Government, of the Army, and of the Navy, including Captain



THE BURIAL OF THE STAMP ACT IN ENGLAND, UPON ITS REPEAL.



Part of
the Combustible
MATTER

*Which was preserv'd from amidst the Devouring
flames, which lately consum'd 10 Boxes
of the same Commodity, at New York.*

This paper was sent from New York and put up at the
Coffee house in Philadelphia.

See an account of the burning of the Stamp papers in New York
in the New York Mercury No 742. for January 13 1766. 3^d page



*A Sheet of the Stamp-Paper intended for the British Colonies,
 saved in large quantities from the wreck of the Ship Ellis Captⁿ Egdon
 that was cast away on Abesomb Beach in New Jersey march 1st 1766
 bound to Philadelphia from London.
 See the Pennsylvania Journal, No 1214, for march 12. 1766.*

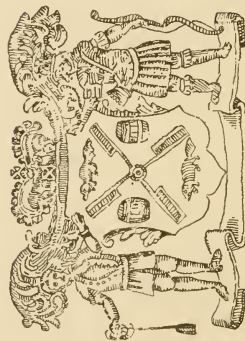
THURSDAY, November 21, 1765:

NEW-YORK

OR
 WEEKLY

With the freshest Advertis

THE



NUMB. 1194.

GAZETTE;

THE

POST-BY.

foreign and Domestic.

The united Voice of all His Majesty's free and loyal Subjects in AMERICA,--
 LIBERTY and PROPERTY, and NO STAMPS.

Hawker, of the *Sardine*, and strangers in the city, sat down to a sumptuous feast in the Banqueting Hall. Due honor was done by toasts to the King and all the royal family, and to Lords, Commons, and Ministry, and especially by name to Mr. Pitt, to Lord Camden, to Daniel Dulany, of Maryland,¹ to the London Committee of Merchants, to the Virginia Assembly, and to all the other Continental Assemblies actuated by the

*Dan. Dulany
19th Jan^y - 1776.*

like zeal for the liberties of their Country; "May," said they, "the interest of Great Britain and her colonies be always united."

The worshipful the Mayor did the honors while cannon, placed in the State House Yard, boomed forth the royal salute after "The King," and appropriately responded after every other toast. It was determined at the table to specially honor the 4th June approaching, as the birthday of "our most gracious Sovereign, and to dress ourselves in a new suit of the manufactures of England, and give what Home-spun we have to the poor."

The *Sardine*, which had been kept in quarantine with the detested stamps on board, was brought up before the town and gayly decorated.

On the 3d June, the Governor announced to the House the repeal of the Stamp Act; a copy of the Repealing Act, and another for "securing the just dependency of the colonies on the Mother Country," as the Honorable Mr. Conway phrased it, were laid before the House.

That the said Colonies and Plantations in America have been, are, and of Right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon, the Imperial Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of Right ought to have, full Power and Authority to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient force and Validity to bind the Colonies and People of America, Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all Cases whatsoever.

This elicited an address of thanks to the "most gracious Sovereign,"

¹ Mr. Dulany, though afterwards a loyalist, staunchly opposed the Stamp Act as unconstitutional.

and the assurance therein that they were "fully sensible how much the happiness of your People depends on a perfect harmony and connection between Great Britain and her Colonies, we assure your Majesty, that no care or endeavours shall be wanting on our part, to promote and establish that Union of affection and interests so essential to the welfare of both, and to preserve that loyalty and affection to your Majesty's person and government, which we esteem to be one of their first and most important duties."

This "just dependency" or Declaratory Act contained the germ of much future trouble.

The Agents for Pennsylvania, in London, were instructed to give the Assembly "the earliest intelligence of every new measure or regulation, that shall be proposed or intended to be proposed in Parliament, wherein the general liberties of America, or those of this colony, may in the least be affected or concerned."


Many months were allowed to elapse, however, ere any attempt was made by Great Britain to exercise the power, claimed by this statute, when suddenly, in 1767, an act was passed for imposing duties on glass, paper, painters' colors, and TEA; the duties were trifling, but the discussions incident to the Stamp Act had opened the eyes of the colonists, generally, to their rights as freemen under the Constitution of England. In the guise of a plain farmer, John Dickinson, by a series of letters published in the newspapers, clearly demonstrated the necessity of resisting the imposition of a tax by the British Parliament, and pointed out that a free people are not those over whom only a Government is reasonably and equitably exercised, but those who live under a Government so constitutionally checked and controlled, that its exercise otherwise is rendered impossible.

The Assembly of Pennsylvania at once enjoined their agents in London, under date of February 20, 1768, "to coöperate with the agents of the other colonies in any decent and respectful application to Parliament (in case such application is made by them), for a repeal of the late act imposing duties on the importation of paper, glass, etc., into the American Provinces, which act is looked upon as highly injurious to the rights of the people." On the same day the House adjourned to meet on the 9th of May following.

In the recess the Speaker received a communication from the Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Assembly, setting forth specifically the infringements upon the constitutional rights of the Provinces by this Revenue Act and asking suggestions. This deservedly celebrated "Circular Letter" was promptly, May 10th, laid before the Assembly.

As the necessary instructions had already been given to their agents, and the Pennsylvania Assembly only remained two days in session, no further official action was taken at this time.

Upon the very day of their reassembling an artful letter from Lord Hillsborough, the Colonial Secretary, was transmitted by the Governor to the House, in which he sought, after bestowing praise upon Pennsylvania for the reverence and re-



spect always shown by her to the Constitution, to detach her from the interests of her sister colonies. He invites her to stamp the action of Massachusetts as unjustifiable. On the same day, in bold and emphatic language, the protest of Virginia was laid before the House. "While," say they, "we do not affect Independency of our Parent Kingdom, we aspire to the national rights of British subjects, and assert that no power on Earth has the right to impose Taxes upon us without our consent." The Old Dominion not only endorsed what Massachusetts had done, but expressed the opinion "that the Colonies should unite in a firm and decent opposition to every measure which might affect their rights and liberties."

Lord Hillsborough's letter elicited a Resolution fully sustaining the magnanimous views of Massachusetts, and insisting upon "the undoubted right of the various Assemblies of the Colonies to correspond with each other relative to grievances affecting the general welfare."

A committee was at once appointed to express the sentiments of Pennsylvania, who reiterated and enforced the instructions already given on 20th February to their agents, and inclosed for presentation to the King, to the Peers, and to the Commons, separate petitions, insisting "upon those rights, and that freedom which they are by birth entitled to as men and Englishmen who cannot be legally taxed, either by the principles of equity or the Constitution, but by themselves or their legal Representatives." In writing to their agents they also drew attention to the fact that the reasons assigned by them, throughout the petitions, to induce a repeal were "very much confined to the *right* of the Colony in being exempted from Parliamentary taxation; little is said on the *inexpediency* of the regulation adopted by the Act, lest seeming to rely on the latter should weaken the arguments in support of the former."

Thus "the most temperate province of Pennsylvania" had scarcely need to be "roused from its slumbers by the voice of the Old Dominion," as has been alleged.

These direct protests, ably seconded by the Merchants throughout the country, who entered again into agreements not to import from England those articles that were subjected to a tax, finally produced the repeal, April 12, 1770, of this Act, though an exception was still made by Parliament. That exception was the duty on *tea*, an article that even then had become a necessity, and had yielded to the East India Company £130,000, sterling, per annum. Relying upon the importance of this beverage, and apparently believing that, by reducing its price, the technical claim of "right to tax America," could continue to be made, an *export* duty was actually taken off, while a *smaller* duty on *importation* into the colonies was imposed, and even this was attempted to be covered up by requiring its payment in England, thus to the consumers the cost apparently was alone increased.

The Americans were not to be taken unawares, nor yet to be overcome by the bribe; they detected the "snake in the grass," and forthwith set about crushing its head.

In the Pennsylvania Assembly, on 4th February, 1771, a committee was appointed to draft a petition to the King for repeal of this duty also, "since great danger is apprehended from the continuance of such a precedent for taxing the Americans without their consent." Messrs. Dickinson and Morton were both on this committee, which, on 5th March, represented their grievance in a respectful though firm and able petition for redress. Corresponding instructions were given to their Agent in London, and reiterated at every session, but without avail.

The legislature was not unmindful during the lull following the repeal of the Stamp Act, of charitable or of scientific wants of the times. Their journals teem with reports on the Pennsylvania Hospital — an institution which they had in every way fostered from its establishment, some dozen years before. The individual members frequently assumed duties the salaries of which they appropriated to this noble foundation.

In their encouragement of scientific researches the Assembly sanctioned and contributed to the erection of a building, destined to be famous in the history of Independence. This was "The Observatory" in the State House yard.

The American Philosophical Society had presented a petition to the Assembly in October, 1768, setting forth that a transit of Venus

over the sun would take place on the third of June, following, that it would afford the best method of determining the dimensions of the solar system, together with the correct longitude of the places where observations should be made, etc., that as none other would occur for more than one hundred years, the interests of astronomy as well as of navigation demanded the encouragement of public bodies, and hence they requested that some provision should be made by the government for "the purchase of a reflecting telescope of about three feet focus, and to defray expenses." It was stated that no telescope was to be found in the Province, and possibly none on the Continent, proper for the purpose.

This petition was now supplemented by another, asking permission to erect an observatory in the State House grounds, "with such public assistance as you may think convenient for erecting the same."

These requests were both complied with by the Assembly. The telescope was ordered through Dr. Franklin—the then agent of Pennsylvania at London. £100 were granted, and permission given for the erection of the required building upon the public grounds.

The telescope duly arrived; the observations were made by David Rittenhouse, assisted by Dr. John Ewing, Joseph Shippen, Thomas Pryor, James Pearson, and Dr. Hugh Williamson and Charles Thomson,—the two last mentioned destined to become prominent in the history of their country. The weather proved fine, and the situation very favorable, so that the society had the gratification to report that their observations "had been highly acceptable to those learned bodies in Europe to whom they have been communicated."

While no trace of this building is now visible, the foundations were discovered, when recently perfecting the sewerage of the Square. It appears to have been of circular shape, and was erected about forty feet due west from the rear door of the present Philosophical Hall, and about same distance south from the wall of the present (eastern) wing. It would form an eminently appropriate site for a monument to the signers of the Declaration of Independence, so long in contemplation.

The period of non-importation in Philadelphia gave rise to various new enterprises, among them the establishment of a china factory in Southwark. Gousse Bonnin (apparently a Dane) and George Anthony Morris of Philadelphia, were the proprietors.

In January, 1771, they applied to the Assembly for aid. But little is known in regard to this attempt; the present interest in "the

Ceramic Art" seems to call for the petition in full as laid upon the table in the Assembly room. It reads as follows : —

THE ADDRESS OF THE PROPRIETORS OF THE CHINA MANUFACTORY.

WORTHY SIRs : — We, the Subscribers, actuated as strongly by the sincerest Attachment to the interest of the Public as to our private Emolument, have at our sole Risque and Expence introduced into this Province a Manufacture of Porcelain or China Earthen Ware, a Commodity, which by Beauty and Excellence, hath forced its way into every refined Part of the Globe, and created various imitative Attempts, in its Progress through the different Kingdoms and Principalities of Europe, under the Sanction and Encouragement of their several Potentates. Great Britain which hath not been the least backward, in Royal Testimonials of Favour to the first Adventurers, in so capital an Undertaking, cannot yet boast of any great Superiority in Workmanship, surpassing Denmark, France and the Austrian Netherlands, she yields the Palm to Saxony, which in her Turn gives Place to the East Indies. America, in this general Struggle, hath hitherto been unthought of, and it is our peculiar Happiness to have been primarily instrumental in bringing her forward ; but how far she shall proceed, in a great Measure, depends on the Influence of your generous Support. We have expended great Sums in bringing from London Workmen of acknowledged Abilities, have established them here, erected spacious Buildings, Mills, Kilns and various Requisites, and brought the Work, we flatter ourselves, into no contemptible Train of Perfection. A Sample of it we respectfully submit to the Inspection of your Honourable House, praying it may be viewed with a favourable Eye having Reference to the Disadvantages under which we engaged ; if happy enough to merit your approbation we would not wish to aspire at the Presumption of dictating the Measure of your Encouragement, but with all Humility hint at the Manner. You Gentlemen, who are appointed to a dignified Pre-eminence by the free Votes of your Countrymen, as well for your known Attachment to their truest Welfare, as superior Knowledge must be sensible, that capital Works are not to be carried on by inconsiderable Aids or Advancements : Hence it is, we beg leave to point out the Propriety of a Provincial Loan, at the Discretion of your Honourable House, independent of Interest, for a certain Term of Years. Under such Indulgence, on our Part we shall not be deficient in the Display of a Lively Gratitude, and the Promotion of the Colony's service, by the introducing of an additional Number of Experienced Workmen the Extension of our Buildings, and Improvement of the Manufacture, endeavoring to render it equal in Quality to such as is usually imported, and vending it at a cheaper Rate. We have the Honour, etc., etc., etc.

The " Tea Act " of Parliament still remained upon the Statute Book ; it was, however, practically nullified by the absolute refusal of



The Tea-Tax-Demipelt, or





1778



the Anglo American Revolution.

the Americans themselves to import, or even to receive the tea on board the ships belonging to American ports. This caused an immense accumulation in the warehouses of the East India Company in London. In collusion with the ministry, the latter set about chartering vessels themselves, having determined, in the language of the day, "to cram the tea down the throats" of the colonists. These vessels were to be consigned to different parties in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston.

News of this fact reaching Philadelphia at the end of September, gave rise to an unprecedented commotion among the inhabitants, and possibly to the now well-known expression of "a tempest in a tea pot," for to such "base uses" may the most solemn events be subservient. The Philadelphia papers teem with addresses to the Commissioners and to the public. Probably the most able is from Scævola, in the "Pennsylvania Chronicle," of the 11th October. The Boston papers took up the refrain, and, on the 14th of the same month, "express the same sentiments in regard to the tea, expected from London, as the people of New York and Philadelphia, whose conduct they highly approve and strongly urge their countrymen to imitate. The masters of all their London vessels, too, they expect, like those of New York and Philadelphia, will refuse to bring any tea to America while the duty remains."

An immense public meeting was held in the State House Yard on the 16th day of October, 1773, when the following spirited resolutions were adopted, and appeared in the public prints on the 18th:—

"*Resolved*, That the disposal of their own property is the inherent right of freemen; that there can be no property in that which another can, of right, take from us without our consent; that the claim of Parliament to tax America is, in other words, a claim of right to levy contributions on us at pleasure.

"That the duty imposed by Parliament upon tea landed in America is a tax on the Americans, or levying contributions on them without their consent.

"That the express purpose for which the tax is levied on the Americans, namely, for the support of government, administration of justice, and defense of his Majesty's dominions in America, has a direct tendency to render Assemblies useless, and to introduce arbitrary government and slavery.

"That a virtuous and steady opposition to this Ministerial plan of governing America is absolutely necessary to preserve even the shadow of liberty, and is a duty which every freeman in America owes to his country, to himself, and to his posterity.

"That the resolution lately entered into by the East India Company to send out their tea to America, subject to the payment of duties on its being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce this Ministerial plan, and a violent attack upon the liberties of America.

"That it is the duty of every American to oppose this attempt.

"That whoever shall, directly or indirectly, countenance this attempt, or in any wise aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea sent or to be sent out by the East India Company, while it remains subject to the payment of a duty here, is an enemy of his country.

"That a committee be immediately chosen to wait on those gentlemen who, it is reported, are appointed by the East India Company to receive and sell said tea, and request them, from a regard to their own characters, and the peace and good order of the city and province, immediately to resign their appointment."¹

Notice of the actual sailing on the 27th of September, of the ship with the cargo of tea intended for PHILADELPHIA, was publicly given

¹ In BOSTON, on 3d November, a meeting was held at "Liberty Tree," to enforce the resignation of the consignees of the tea intended for that city, which proved ineffective, but resulted in another on 5th November, when the Hon. John Hancock, Esq., was chosen Moderator, and at which it was —

"Resolved, That the sense of this town cannot be better expressed than in the words of certain judicious resolves, lately entered into by our worthy brethren, the citizens of Philadelphia." Here follow the resolves of the citizens of Philadelphia, of October 16th, preceding, as given in the text.

It is especially noteworthy that the handsome compliment thus and then paid to the city of Philadelphia, was, in 1873, returned in kind, by the selection for commemoration — as the salient event in the history of the defeat of the "Tea Scheme" — of the patriotic action of the Bostonians.

At this Boston meeting it was also, — "Resolved, that it is the determination of this town by all means in their power, to prevent the sale of the teas exported by the East India Company," etc., etc. The Messrs. Clarke, Messrs. Faneuil & Winslow, as well as the Hutchinsons, all consignees of the tea, were evasive in their responses sent to this assemblage, which declared them to be "daringly affrontive to the town." A renewal of a demand for their resignations at another meeting held on 18th November, also resulted in an equivocal reply, which was voted "not satisfactory."

On the 28th, the ship *Dartmouth*, Captain Hall, eight weeks from London, with 114 chests of the long expected and much talked of tea, "actually arrived and anchored at the Long Wharf;" immediately appeared a notification for every friend of his country, to himself and to posterity, to meet at Faneuil Hall, to take action in the premises — but Faneuil Hall proved too small to hold the multitude which answered the call, and an adjournment was had at the "Old South Meeting House," — where the sense of the meeting was declared: "That it is the firm resolution of this body, that the tea shall not only be sent back in the same bottom, but that no duty shall be paid thereon." As the consignees had professed a desire to give satisfaction to the town, the meeting "out of great tenderness to these persons, notwithstanding the time hitherto expended upon them to no purpose," adjourned over till the next day, the 30th November, in order to receive reply, but that proving no more satisfactory, promises were extorted from the captain of the vessel, then in port, as well as the owner, and effectually to secure their compliance, a watch was then appointed for the *Dartmouth*, as well as for the expected vessels, to which

in the papers of the first day of December, and, as it was then hourly expected, the "Americans" were urged to "be wise — be virtuous." On the 27th of September the self-constituted Committee for Tarring and Feathering had issued handbills of the most *friendly* kind to the pilots on the Delaware River, admonishing them: "Do your duty if perchance you should meet with the (tea) ship *Polly*, Captain

equally they determined their resolutions should apply; then pledging each other to carry their votes and resolutions into execution at the risk of their lives, they peaceably adjourned, after thanking those who "came from the adjoining towns for their countenance and union with this body in this exigence of our affairs," and also Jonathan Williams, Esq., who presided as Moderator at this meeting.

A few days afterwards arrived the *Eleanor*, Captain Bruce, with 116 chests, and then the *Beaver*, Captain Coffin, with 114 chests of tea. A caution was posted up throughout the town, that the granting of a permit to land, while it would betray an inhuman thirst for blood, would also in a great measure accelerate confusion and civil war. No effort was made to land the tea, the consignees themselves having taken refuge in "the Castle," but egress from the harbor was denied, and the alternative of destruction to the tea alone presented itself to the Patriots. At the meeting held on 16th December, — prolonged till candles were brought in, — this fact became apparent, when suddenly from the gallery of the "Old South," the war whoop was raised by a person disguised as a Mohawk Indian, and a cry, "Boston Harbor a Tea Pot to-night!" and "Hurrah for Griffin's Wharf!" A significant motion to adjourn was immediately put and carried, and the populace streamed to the place of rendezvous. A score or more disguised in a sort of mongrel Indian costume, with faces blackened, accompanied by a posse of fifty, boarded the three vessels without molestation, and having broken open the boxes of tea with their "tomahawks," cast the contents into the water, and then dispersed quietly to their homes.

In New York, intimation was received as early as October 11th, of the consignment of tea to that port, and on the 15th, at a meeting at the Coffee House, grateful thanks were rendered to the patriotic merchants and masters of vessels in London, for refusing to receive from the East India Company on freight a quantity of tea, etc., in strong contrast with which, one William Kelley, late of New York, and designated as infamously, who had undertaken to advise the sending of the tea to New York, and "the cramming the tea down the throats of his fellow-citizens," was hung and burnt in effigy at the Coffee House, with appropriate labels and insignia to indicate the contempt of the people, and the fate that awaited him personally if caught. An association termed the Sons of Liberty, was formed, and at a meeting at City Hall, on 29th November, resolutions were passed similar to those of Philadelphia and Boston, with which cities they "perfectly concurred," and rejecting the proposition then made by the government, of landing the tea and placing it in the fort, while a warning to the citizens appeared, under the favorite pseudonym of the "Mohawks," against presuming even "to let their stores for the reception of the infernal chains," thus sought to be imposed upon the colonists.

Notwithstanding, however, this opposition and that of the good people of CHARLESTON, the tea was landed at both places, but stored under the protection of the authorities, the consignees having refused to receive it. The firm stand taken by the citizens rendered it dangerous to attempt to expose it for sale, and it is believed none was sold.

Ayres," and followed it up, as the vessel was actually reported off Cape May, by an address to the aforesaid captain, which, after a warning to desist from any effort to approach the city *with* his vessel, plainly promises, in case of his persistence: "A halter around your neck, ten gallons of liquid tar scattered on your pate, with the feathers of a dozen wild geese laid over that to enliven your appearance." In the meantime demands were made upon the commissioners to refuse the consignment. Equivocal responses were at first made by some, but finally they all yielded. A card, addressed to Messrs. James & Drinker, probably received no direct response. These gentlemen, however, had united with their fellow-citizens in protesting against the Stamp Act, and both had signed the non-importation resolutions of 1765; it is not likely, therefore, that such omission proceeded from any want of patriotism.¹ The card is still extant.

A CARD.

THE PUBLIC present their Compliments to Messieurs JAMES AND DRINKER. We are informed that YOU have this day received your commission to enslave your native Country; and, as your frivolous Plea of having received no Advice, relative to the scandalous Part you were to act, in the TEA-SCHEME, can no longer serve your purpose, nor divert our Attention, WE expect and desire YOU will immediately inform the PUBLIC, by a Line or two to be left at the COFFEE HOUSE, Whether you will, or will not, renounce all Pretensions to execute that Commission?....THAT WE MAY GOVERN OURSELVES ACCORDINGLY.

Philadelphia, December 2, 1773.

The strenuous measures thus taken in Philadelphia in anticipation, were justified by the news received, December 24th, from Boston, of

¹ Abel James, the head of the firm of James & Drinker, who occupied the house of his father-in-law, Thomas Chalkley, immediately on the wharves, as represented in the old painting of Philadelphia by Peter Cooper, was waited upon by a crowd of citizens, and in response to a demand for his resignation then and there made, he gave the guarantee of his word and property that the tea should not be landed, but that the ship should go back to England; then pointing to his young daughter Rebecca, who stood near him, perched on the head of one of her father's hogsheads, he pledged her (a *vivum vadium*) to the fulfillment of his promise. This young girl in after years married John Thompson, and was the grandmother of (besides several esteemed Philadelphians of the same name) John T. and George T. Lewis, gentlemen so well known on the wharves neighboring the transaction above related,

what had there occurred ; the announcement was made in an extra of that date : —

"Friday Evening, 5 o'clock.

"Yesterday, (December 16th), we had a greater meeting of this body than ever, the country coming in from twenty miles round, and every step was taken that was practicable for returning the teas. The moment it was known out of doors that Mr. Rotch could not obtain a pass for his ship by the cattle, (on the outward voyage), a number of people huzza'd in the street, and in a very little time every ounce of the teas on board of Capts. Hall, Bruce, and Coffin was immerged in the bay, without the least injury to private property. The spirit of the people on this occasion surprised all parties who viewed the scene.

We conceived it to be our duty to afford you the most early advice of this interesting event by express, which, departing immediately, obliges us to conclude.

"BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE."

"P. S. — The other vessel, viz : Captain Loring, belonging to Messrs. Clark, with fifty-eight chests, was by the act of God, cast ashore on the back of Cape Cod."

On Christmas-day, an express conveying intelligence of the arrival at Chester of the long-expected ship *Polly* reached Philadelphia. Immediately committees were dispatched to the commander. They succeeded in intercepting him at Gloucester Point, and, requiring him to come on shore, represented the general sentiments of the people, and desired him to accompany them to town to ascertain for himself their temper and resolution.

Yielding to their wishes, he reached Philadelphia in the evening. An announcement appeared the next morning, December 27th, at nine o'clock : —

"The tea ship having arrived, every inhabitant who wishes to preserve the liberty of America is desired to meet at the State House, this morning, precisely at ten o'clock, to consider what is best to be done in this alarming crisis."

The crowd assembled, according to call, though upon notice of an hour only, is said to be the largest ever, up to that time, collected. The State House being found inadequate, an adjournment to the Square took place. The resolutions that were adopted, were concise and peremptory : —

"Resolved. First. That the tea on board the ship *Polly*, Captain Ayres, shall not be landed.

and so esteemed as to need no *pledges* of any kind to fortify to their fellow-citizens their simple word of honor.

"Second. That Captain Ayres shall neither enter, nor report his vessel at the custom-house.

"Third. That Captain Ayres shall carry back the tea, immediately.

"Fourth. That Captain Ayres shall immediately send a pilot on board his vessel, with orders to take charge of her, and to proceed to Reedy Island next high water.

"Fifth. That the captain shall be allowed to stay in town till to-morrow, to provide necessaries for his voyage.

"Sixth. That he shall then be obliged to leave town and proceed to his vessel, and make the best of his way out of our river and bay.

"Seventh. That a committee of four gentlemen be appointed to see these resolves carried into execution."

The meeting was then informed of the spirit and resolution shown upon this subject by the people of Boston, New York, and Charleston, whereupon it was unanimously, —

"*Resolved.* That this assembly highly approve of the conduct and spirit of the people of New York, Charleston, and Boston, and return their hearty thanks to the people of Boston for their resolution in destroying the tea, rather than suffer it to be landed."

Though it was computed at the time that there were nearly eight thousand persons present at this meeting, the business was conducted with a degree of order and decorum which showed that the importance of the cause was duly felt.

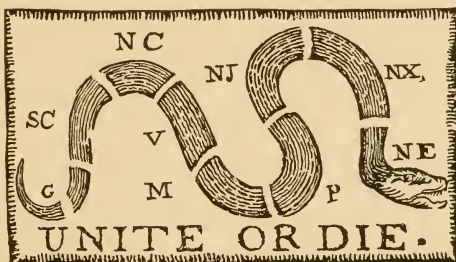
Captain Ayres having been called out, pledged himself that the public wishes should be complied with, and the very next day he was respectfully attended to the wharf of Messrs. James & Drinker, by a concourse of people, who wished him a good voyage, and, "Thus," says a contemporary account, "this important affair, in which there has been so glorious an exertion of public virtue and spirit, has been brought to a happy issue, by which the force of a law, so obstinately persisted in to the prejudice of the national commerce, for the sake of the principle upon which it is founded (a right of taxing the Americans without their consent), has been effectually broken, and the foundations of American liberty more deeply laid than ever."

The repeal of the Tea Tax Act, unlike its predecessor, was not to be thus effected; rigorous measures were determined upon by the ruling powers of Great Britain.

The enforced return by the Philadelphians of the detested tea, in repudiation of the right of the Parliament to tax the colonists, did not afford the ministry a salient object of attack, but what passed in Boston, the actual destruction of the tea, though done in a most orderly

manner, was declared by a majority in the English Parliament to be an overt act of high treason "proceeding from," says no less a person than Lord Mansfield, "our over lenity and want of foresight." The mother country must assert her authority, and as punishing all the colonies at the same time seems to have been deemed inexpedient, the devoted town of Boston was selected for chastisement, as an example to some, while to others the individual benefits sure to accrue to their ports from the *mode* selected would allure from the rapidly growing union of the colonies.

While "Divide et impera" became more obviously the axiom of the British Government, this only enforced the views of the patriots throughout the country, and induced its correlative "Unite or Die" — the watchword learned while acting on the defensive against the Indians when unassisted by the mother country. The early emblem, a dissectioned rattlesnake, became again popular, and no doubt gave the cue to the subsequent Revolutionary flag.



The privileges of Boston, "the ring-leading town," as a harbor were suspended, its port closed against all commerce until it should make amends and promise future obedience to the King and Parliament of England.

But Boston showed no sign of yielding. That town "bore its burden with dignity and based its hopes of deliverance upon Union," says its chiefest historian.¹

It was not disappointed. Throughout the Colonies there was but one sentiment, the "wound upon the single nerve convulsed the whole body, divulging its vitality." "These acts of the British Parliament are unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous to ALL the American Colonies, and must be resisted," was the universal cry.

Charles Lee — only recently arrived, though soon to become prominent as an advocate with pen and sword of the rights of America —

¹ Richard Frothingham, whose valuable *Rise of the Republic* should be studied by every true American, and kept among his "window books."

could not restrain his surprise that the tyranny over Boston seemed to be resented by the other Colonies in a greater degree than by the Bostonians themselves, while the feeling of the Continent was reported to be expressed in the most eloquent words by Washington: "I will raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march, myself at their head, for the relief of Boston."

On Friday evening, the 20th of May, in Philadelphia, a meeting of its residents was promptly held to consider "the execrable Port Bill," and it was determined to make the cause of Boston their own; while they recommended firmness, prudence, and moderation to the inhabitants of Boston, they gave assurance "that the citizens of Philadelphia would continue to evince their firm adherence to the cause of American Liberty." In testimony thereof, they then and there appointed a committee of correspondence, consisting of Rev. William Smith (who is now known to have drafted the reply to the Boston committee), Thomas Mifflin, George Clymer, Charles Thomson, and others. They transmitted, says the "*Essex Gazette*," by the hands of Paul Revere, to Boston, these sentiments of the people, and "their resolution to stand by us to the last extremity." They further advised, in a copy of their letter sent to New York and to the southern colonies, that the first step that ought to be taken was to call a GENERAL CONGRESS of all the Colonies.

On the first of June, the day the Boston Port Bill was to go into operation, the shops were generally closed throughout the city; a few days afterwards a large meeting of the Manufacturers and Mechanics was held at the State House to express their concurrence with their New York brethren, "and to adopt such measures as will most effectually tend to unite us in the common cause of our country, strengthen the hands of our patriotic merchants, and animate and administer relief and solid comfort to our brave and suffering countrymen in the besieged capital of MASSACHUSETTS BAY."

During the last days of the session of the Pennsylvania Assembly, September, 1773, information of a highly important character had been communicated to the House. Virginia announced that that Colony had appointed STANDING COMMITTEES to keep up a correspondence with her sister colonies on all proceedings that might tend to deprive them all of their ancient, legal, and constitutional rights. This committee was composed of (besides others) Peyton Randolph, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Archibald Cary, and Thomas Jefferson. Contemporaneously were presented from Massachusetts, resolutions concur-

ring in this action and expressive of a grateful sense of the obligation that colony was under to the "House of Burgesses of Virginia, for the vigilance, firmness, and wisdom which they had discovered, at all times, in support of the rights and liberties of the American Colonies." Massachusetts placed upon her committee (among others) Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Elbridge Gerry, Joseph Hawley; Connecticut, also concurring, selected William Williams, Samuel H. Parsons, Silas Deane; Rhode Island notified the appointment of Stephen Hopkins, Metcalf Bowler, Henry Ward, and Henry Marchant. As the Assembly would be dissolved by the charter in a few days thereafter, the Speaker was instructed to reply to these several Colonies assuring them that Pennsylvania appreciated the importance of coöperation with them in measures to secure the preservation and security of their rights and liberties, but that no measures at that time could be taken in view of dissolution, and that the new Assembly would meet in a fortnight.

In accordance with this promise, upon the opening of the session of the new House the Assembly promptly authorized the committee of correspondence — which already existed, and which had existed for very many years — to correspond with the other committees of the various colonies. This committee consisted of the Speaker, Joseph Galloway, Samuel Rhoads, Samuel Miles, William Rodman, Isaac Pearson, and John Morton.

Within a few days, Delaware, too, gave notice of her emphatic concurrence in the measure, appointing Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean, and others.

Maryland, early in 1774, officially expressed *her* confidence in the great utility of a PERFECT UNION, stating that on the 15th of October, 1773, the committee of that Province had been appointed, consisting of Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, William Paca, Samuel Chase, Edward Lloyd, and others.

At the State House, in the yard, there was assembled on Saturday, the 18th of June, a general meeting of citizens which pledged the city of Philadelphia to the common cause of liberty, and ultimately secured the State. Thomas Willing and John Dickinson were made joint-chairmen, and under their auspices and those of the Rev. William Smith, a series of spirited resolutions were passed, declaring the act for closing the port of Boston unconstitutional and oppressive, and dangerous to the liberties of the other Colonies as well as to Massachusetts; affirming that a Congress of deputies from the several Colonies was the most probable and proper mode of procuring relief, and appointing a

committee to correspond with the "Sister Colonies" as well as with the other counties of Pennsylvania. A subscription was also raised at this meeting for the relief of the sufferers in Boston.

In introducing these resolutions, Dr. Smith referred to the importance of the deliberations, as they were then called upon to decide "whether the breach with the country from which we are descended shall be irreparably widened, or whether ways and means upon constitutional grounds, may not yet be found for closing that breach," and he invited free expression of opinion, deprecating at the same time any "hissing or clapping," etc.

A committee was appointed to carry out the intent of the meeting. During the following winter a shipment was made of hundreds of barrels of flour, and of "ship stuff," with information that it was only a part of the subscriptions procured in Philadelphia "which amounts at present to about two thousand pounds;" that the contributions from the country, and of different townships of Pennsylvania, would be forwarded as might be prescribed by the Boston Committee; concluding with "tenderly feeling for the inexpressibly distressed situation of your town, and wishing an happy and speedy issue from the exertions of tyranny to the full enjoyment of peace, liberty, and security."

The Assembly of Pennsylvania was not in session; it had adjourned on January 22d, 1774, to meet on 12th September. Efforts to induce the Governor to call a special session proving fruitless, application was made by the Committee to the Speaker to address circular letters individually to the members inviting them to Philadelphia, to which request he consented; but the Governor, either from expediency, under these circumstances, or from necessity, — assigning the Indian troubles as a cause, — formally called a special session of the Legislature for July 18th, following. Whereupon the committee fixed the 15th as the time, and Carpenter's Hall as the place for meeting in convention of committees from every county of the Province, believing this, as they say, to be the most effective means towards a Union; they appeal to the public spirit of Pennsylvania, instancing that "all the Colonies from South Carolina to New Hampshire seem animated with one spirit in the common cause, and consider this as the proper crisis for having our differences with the mother country brought to some certain issue, and our liberties fixed upon a permanent foundation."

Already a *Congress of Delegates* from all the Colonies had been suggested by "a Philadelphian," in March, 1773. A spirited appeal in

favor of it followed in the *Boston Gazette*, and Samuel Adams boldly advocated it about the same time; but now it was demanded universally.

The popular committees in New York and Williamsburg, with one accord, addressed communications similar to that of the Philadelphia Committee already cited, to the Boston Committee in favor of its immediate call, and requested them to appoint the time and place.

The Massachusetts Assembly, on 17th June, with their door locked, and while the Governor's secretary on the outside was reading through the key-hole the proclamation dissolving them, had fixed the 1st of September following as the time, and Philadelphia as the place; and at the same time appointed their own delegates, five in number, James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine.

Rhode Island, too, had, on 20th June, officially responded, "it is the opinion of this Assembly that a firm and inviolable Union of all the colonies in counsels and in measures, is absolutely necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties."

And now, during this "called" short session of five days of the Pennsylvania Assembly, the walls of that very room, destined to witness its full development, listened to a debate which unquestionably laid the corner stone of that empire which had been foretold seven years before.

It was July 19, 1774; Virginia, the Old Dominion, through the pens of Peyton Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas, and Dudley Digges, spoke:

"The propriety of appointing *Deputies* from the *several colonies* of British America to meet *annually* in *general congress*, appears to be a measure extremely important and extensively useful, as it tends so effectually to obtain the wisdom of the whole in every case of general concern with respect to the unhappy dispute with our mother country. We are desirous to obtain your sentiments on this subject which you will be pleased to furnish us with, being very desirous of communicating to you the opinion and conduct of the late representatives on the present posture of American affairs as quickly as possible, we beg leave to refer you to a future letter in which we shall more fully express our sentiments on those subjects."

This communication bears date May 28, 1774, and may justly be regarded as the first official suggestion for an *annual Congress*.

Sympathy with the Bostonians, coupled with distrust of the Legisla-

ture, had, as we have seen, induced a popular movement in Philadelphia, and, as its results, a body composed of representatives from the several counties in Pennsylvania met in convention at Carpenter's Hall on the 15th of July.

"There is," determined they, "an absolute necessity that a Congress of Deputies from the several colonies be immediately assembled to consult together and form a *general* plan of conduct to be observed by all the colonies, for the purposes of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress of our grievances," etc., etc.

This action was formally communicated on the 19th to the Assembly, and was followed up on the 21st of July by the appearance of the whole body in the Assembly chamber. With much solemnity they laid before the Speaker in his chair of office their Resolves on the Grievances of the Colonies and their Instructions to their Representatives in Assembly, together with a request for the appointment of Deputies to Congress. Thomas Willing was Chairman, and Charles Thomson, Clerk.

Thus stimulated, the Legislature pledged Pennsylvania to the Union, and selected from the Assembly the Speaker (Joseph Galloway), Samuel Rhoads, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, John Morton, George Ross, and Edward Biddle to be her representatives in the Congress to meet those from the other colonies, leaving, however, the time and place to be selected by the general body.¹ John Dickinson, not then a member of the Assembly, was chosen at the next following election, and immediately added to the Congressional Delegation.²

"The Instructions" of July 23, 1774, to the *Committee of Assembly appointed to attend the General Congress*, give the cue to their subsequent action: —

GENTLEMEN: —

The trust reposed in you is of such a nature, and the modes of executing it may be so diversified in the course of your deliberations, that it is scarcely possible to give you instructions respecting it. We shall, therefore, only in general direct that you are to meet in Congress *the Committees of the* several British colonies at such time and place as shall be generally agreed on to consult together on the present critical and alarming situation and state of the colonies, and that you with them exert *your utmost endeavours to form and adopt a*

¹ Connecticut and Maryland had already selected their representatives. Eight other Colonies followed the example, Georgia alone taking no action at this time.

² It was Mr. Dickinson who prepared the admirable resolutions of the *Provincial Committee* which undoubtedly brought Pennsylvania into line.

plan which shall afford the best prospect of obtaining a redress of American Grievances, ascertaining American rights, and establishing that union and harmony which is most essential to the welfare and happiness of both countries. And in doing this you are strictly charged to avoid everything indecent or disrespectful to the mother state. You are also directed to make report of your proceedings to the next Assembly.

Signed by order of the House,

Jos. Galloway

Speaker.

The Assembly, however, at the time seem to have made no provision for a Hall for the meeting of Congress, though Philadelphia had already been named as the place. The Assembly chamber itself would be needed early in September, the Legislature having adjourned to meet on the 12th of that month, so that seemed to be out of the question.

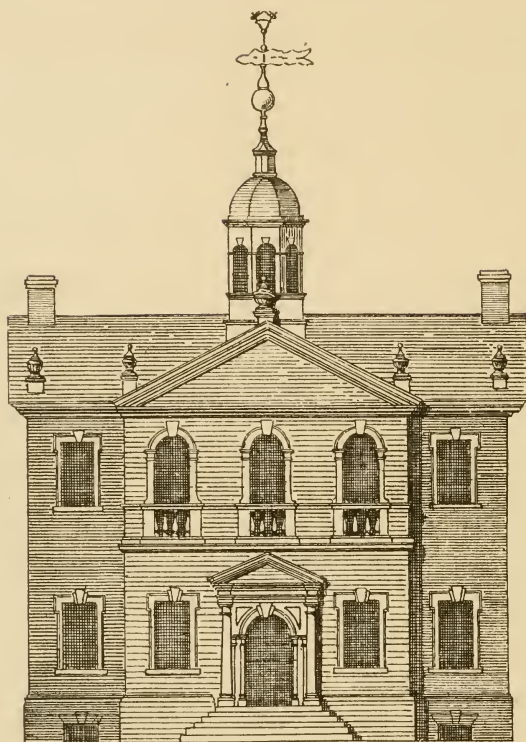
Carpenter's Hall, then a new building, had already been used for civic purposes. The Philadelphia Committee and the "Provincial Committee," which both coöperated to bring about this meeting of Congress, had assembled in the lower room, and it was doubtless they who arranged with the Carpenter's Company for the meeting place of Congress.¹

On the 5th September, accordingly, assembled that memorable body generally known as THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

Having convened at the City Tavern, the delegates walked to the Carpenter's Hall, where, says Mr. John Adams, "they took a view of the room and of the chamber where is an excellent library; there is also a long entry where gentlemen may walk, and a convenient chamber opposite to the library. The general cry was that this was a good room, and the question was put whether we were satisfied with this room, and it passed in the affirmative. A very few were for the negative, and they were chiefly from Pennsylvania and New York."

It sat with closed doors. After passing a resolution approving of the opposition made by the inhabitants of Massachusetts, to the ex-

¹ The Journals of the Assembly indicate that the Province of Pennsylvania bore the expenses "of the sitting of Congress," as well as affording them an official recognition by giving that body "a most elegant entertainment at the City Tavern, the whole House dining with us, making near one hundred guests."



CARPENTER'S HALL IN 1774.

ention of the recent Acts of Parliament, and that, if the same should be attempted to be carried into execution by force, all America ought to support them in their opposition, it determined upon, and the members individually signed, an association sometimes called "the Commencement of the American Union;" in which they agreed for themselves and their constituents not to export, import, or consume any merchandise from Great Britain. A Declaration of Rights was adopted, as were also an address to the people of Great Britain and another to the King; but they refused to appeal to Parliament.

The patriotism and dignity of this body, its noble and statesman-

like action, find their best exponents in the never to be forgotten words of Lord Chatham upon the floor of the House of Peers; they form *the* eulogium on its individual members:—

“When your lordships look at these papers transmitted us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must avow, that in all my reading and observation (and it has been my favorite study), I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master states of the world,—that for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion under a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia.

“The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing equal to it, and all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty continental nation, must be vain. We shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retract while we can, not when we must.”¹

The Congress dissolved October 26, 1774, but George III. and his ministry were equally deaf to their appeal and to the advice of the far-seeing Lord Chatham. Pennsylvania in common with the other colonies cordially approved (December 10) the proceedings and resolves of Congress, which were laid before them,² and “most seriously recommended to the good people of the Province a strict attention to, and inviolable observation of the several matters and things contained in the Journals of Congress.”

They now appointed “Delegates” instead of committees, to represent the colony in the ensuing “Continental Congress,” and reiterated the instructions of the previous July.

Prophets were not wanting to predict the effect that would be produced by the Congress of 1774. A South Carolinian foresees that “*eighteen* hundred and seventy-four will be a year of triumphant

¹ Josiah Quincy, Jr., the youthful patriot, was present, and his report, corroborated by Dr. Franklin, also present in the House of Peers at the time, is in these words: “For genuine sagacity, for singular moderation, for solid wisdom, manly spirit, sublime sentiments, and simplicity of language; for every thing respectable and honorable, the Congress of Philadelphia shines unrivaled.”

² It is believed that thirteen copies were actually signed by the members of this Congress for this especial purpose. Two copies are known to be extant; one of these, which had descended in the family of Matthew Tilghman, is now deposited in the National Museum of Independence Hall.

jubilee, when medals, pictures, fragments of writings will revive the memory of these proceedings and when, if any adventitious circumstances can give precedence, it will be to inherit the blood or even to possess the name of a member of this glorious assembly!!”

While Rev. Ezra Stiles prophesied “If oppression proceeds, despotism may force an ANNUAL CONGRESS; a public spirit of enterprise may originate an American Magna Charta and Bill of Rights, supported by such intrepid and persevering importunity as even sovereignty may hereafter judge it not wise to withstand. There will be a Runnymede in America.”

Yes, “the Congress” which proved to be “Annual,” assembled in Philadelphia, on 10th May, 1775, and paved the way to the American Runnymede in Independence Hall. But in the meantime occurred some significant events which left their foot-prints in our “State House Yard.”

The Battle of Lexington and of Concord was fought on 19th April, 1775. The tidings reached Philadelphia on the afternoon of the 24th. Immediately notices were given for a public meeting, and upon the next day the State House Bell called together “eight thousand people by computation who assembled in the Yard,” in order to consider what measures should be pursued. After several “eloquent and patriotic speeches,” say the newspapers of 26th April, “the company unanimously agreed to associate for the purpose of defending *with arms* their lives, liberty, and property, against all attempts to deprive them of them.”

Thus in the State House Yard originated the first effort on the part of Pennsylvania to raise its quota towards the Army of the Revolution, and to assert by force of arms the constitutional rights of its citizens.

It is true thus far it was only a popular movement, but as we shall see presently, the regularly constituted Legislature, whose prolonged controversy with the Governors on this subject we have traced, soon gave its authoritative sanction.

The Royal as well as the Proprietary interest, in the meantime, sought, through their joint influence in Pennsylvania, to break up the Union of the Colonies, which was being rapidly cemented, and thus growing formidable.

John Penn in a message to the Assembly, on 2d May, 1775, transmitted certain resolutions of the British Parliament, popularly called “Lord North’s Olive-branch,” which after reciting “an existing rebellion in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and that they have been



THE STATE HOUSE YARD, AS ENCLOSED DURING THE REVOLUTION.

countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations by several of the other Colonies," professed an inclination and desire to "pay attention and regard to any real grievance." This profession the Governor had the temerity to call "a strong disposition manifested by that august body to remove the causes which have given rise to discontents, etc.," and he urged upon them "as the *first* Assembly to whom this resolution had been communicated and which I have authority to tell you is approved of by his Majesty," to contribute their separate proportion to the common defense, and thus secure exemption from duty, tax, or assessment.

But John Dickinson prepared the refusal of the House. "If no other Objection to 'the *Plan*' proposed occurred to us, we should esteem it a dishonorable Desertion of Sister Colonies, connected by an Union founded on just Motives and mutual Faith, and conducted by General Councils, for a *single* Colony to adopt a Measure, so extensive in Consequence, without the Advice and Consent of those Colonies engaged with us by Solemn Ties in the same Common Cause." They deprecate the "Calamities of a Civil War," from which the Governor had expressed the hope Pennsylvania would rescue the colonies, but they conclude that while such would be a dreadful misfortune indeed it would be exceeded as such by "an utter Subversion of the Liberties of America."

There were not now wanting voices to supplicate for a grant of a sum of money, — amounting at least to fifty thousand pounds, towards putting the Province in a state of defense, in the most effectual way.

Franklin, the moment of his return from the London agency, was added to the Congressional delegation together with Thomas Willing and James Wilson on 6th May, and a few days thereafter, Galloway, who had already importuned the House "to be excused from serving as a Deputy to the Continental Congress," was "excused from that service." On 13th May the House adjourned to 19th of June.

As has already been intimated, the Second Continental Congress sat in the State House. The tenth of May had been fixed for their meeting; the Assembly of Pennsylvania was on the eve of adjournment, and now for the first time they relinquished their chamber in the State House for the use of the Representatives of the United Colonies, leaving for that distinguished body all the furniture and equipment of their chamber — the eastern room on the first floor, soon

to earn and now universally known by the title of "Independence Chamber."

The Assembly frugally ordered "a dozen Windsor chairs," with which they supplemented the furniture of "the Court Room," of which they now took temporary possession for their sessions.¹

The Congress of 1775 was essentially composed of the same delegates who had been members of its precursor. Its sessions were held from May 10th to August 1st, and from September 5th to December 30, 1775.

Its members were, —

From New Hampshire.

JOHN SULLIVAN.
JOHN LANGDON.

JOSIAH BARTLETT.

From Massachusetts.

JOHN HANCOCK.
THOMAS CUSHING.
SAMUEL ADAMS.

JOHN ADAMS.
ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

From Rhode Island.

STEPHEN HOPKINS.

SAMUEL WARD.

From Connecticut.

ELIPHALET DYER.
ROGER SHERMAN.

SILAS DEANE.

From New York.

PHILIP LIVINGSTON.
JAMES DUANE.
JOHN ALSOP.
JOHN JAY.
SIMON BOERUM.
WILLIAM FLOYD.

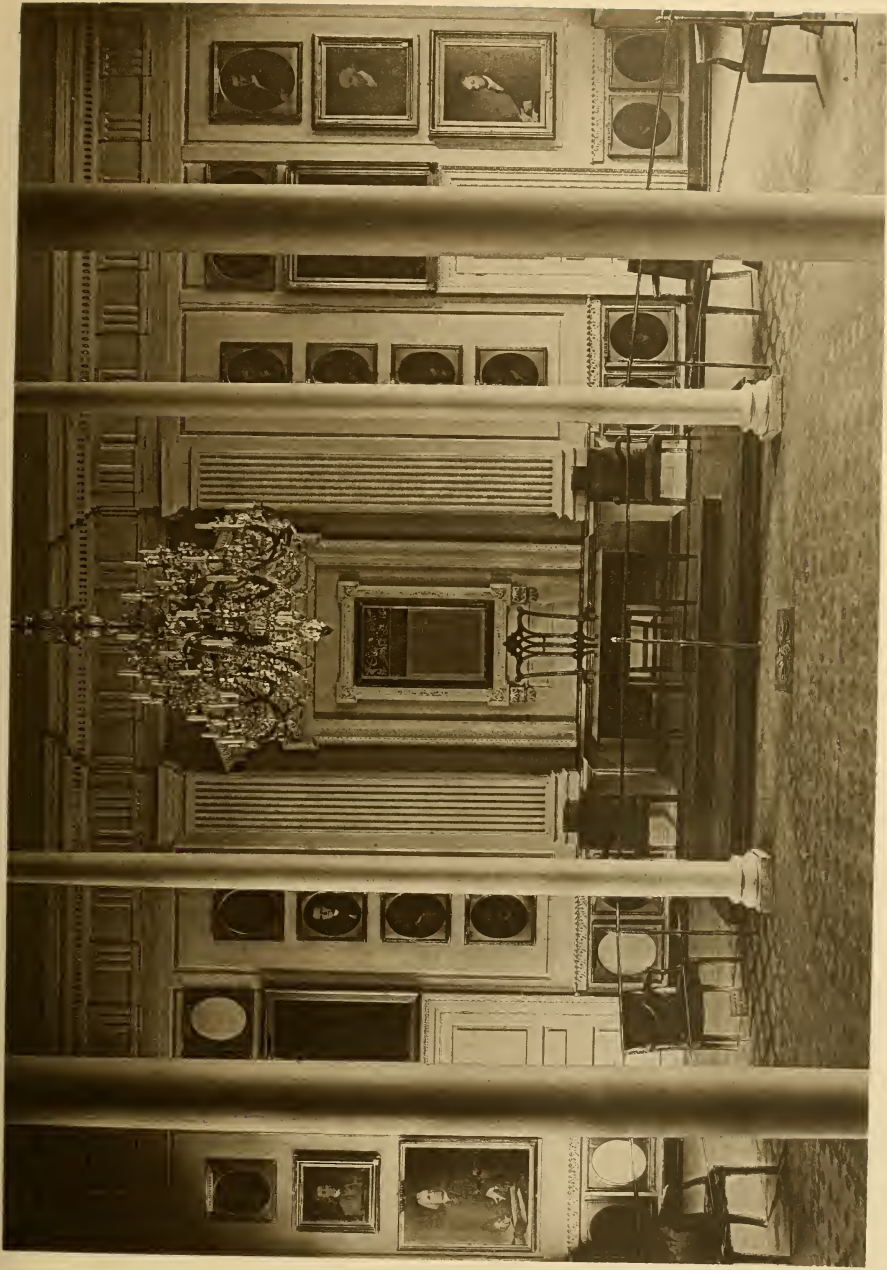
HENRY WISNER.
PHILIP SCHUYLER.
GEORGE CLINTON.
LEWIS MORRIS.
FRANCIS LEWIS.
ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

From New Jersey.

JAMES KINSEY.
STEPHEN CRANE.
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

JOHN DEHART.
RICHARD SMITH.

¹ The western room on the first floor, now forming part of the National Museum. They afterwards appropriated and occupied for some years one of the square chambers on the second floor, though returning apparently in 1781 or 1782, to the old Court Room, as we shall hereafter see.



INDEPENDENCE CHAMBER.

(AFTER RESTORATION)

From Pennsylvania.

EDWARD BIDDLE.	THOMAS MIFFLIN.
JOHN DICKINSON.	CHARLES HUMPHREYS.
JOHN MORTON.	JAMES WILSON.
GEORGE ROSS.	ROBERT MORRIS.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.	ANDREW ALLEN.
THOMAS WILLING.	

From Delaware.

CÆSAR RODNEY.	GEORGE READ.
THOMAS MCKEAN.	

From Maryland.

MATTHEW TILGHMAN.	JOHN HALL.
THOMAS JOHNSON, JR.	THOMAS STONE.
ROBERT GOLDSBOROUGH.	ROBERT ALEXANDER.
WILLIAM PACA.	JOHN ROGERS.
SAMUEL CHASE.	

From Virginia.

PEYTON RANDOLPH.	RICHARD BLAND.
GEORGE WASHINGTON.	THOMAS JEFFERSON.
PATRICK HENRY.	THOMAS NELSON, JR.
RICHARD HENRY LEE.	GEORGE WYTHE.
EDMUND PENDLETON.	FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.
BENJAMIN HARRISON.	

From North Carolina.

WILLIAM HOOPER.	RICHARD CASWELL.
JOSEPH HEWES.	JOHN PENN.

From South Carolina.

HENRY MIDDLETON.	JOHN RUTLEDGE.
THOMAS LYNCH.	EDWARD RUTLEDGE.
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN.	

From Georgia.

LYMAN HALL.	NOBLE WIMBERLY JONES.
ARCHIBALD BULLOCH.	JOHN J. ZUBLY.
JOHN HOUSTOUN.	

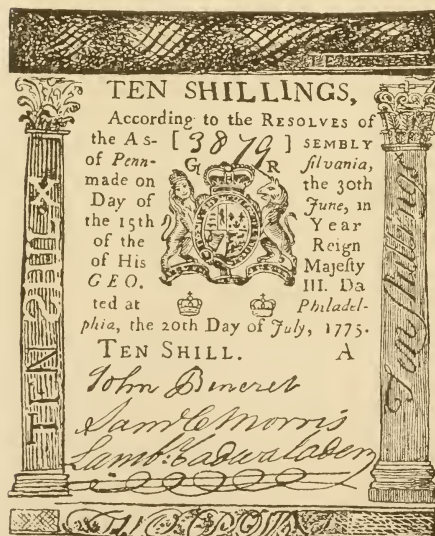
Upon the re-assembling of the Pennsylvania Legislature, the citizens of Philadelphia knocked at their door with the renewed request for a vote of credit, that suitable pay and subsistence might be promised to such officers and soldiers of the military association already

formed as should solemnly engage to go into actual service if required, and for the purpose of supplying needful arms and ammunition for any emergency.

The House, now hearkening to the voice of the blood which cried unto them out of the ground of Lexington and of Concord, at once cordially approved the military association already entered into by "the good people of this Province" in defense of their lives, liberty, and property. They undertook "to provide for and pay the necessary expenses of the officers and soldiers, when called into active service, in case of invasion or landing of British Troops or others made in this or the adjacent Colonies, during the present Controversy."

They recommended and *enjoined* the raising of Minute men for any emergency, to be held in readiness to march to the assistance of any Colony, and selected as a committee—giving them full powers to secure the Province against any hurt from within as well as from without—some of their staunchest patriots (names soon to become

distinguished in the field, and in the national councils), John Dickinson, Anthony Wayne, Benjamin Franklin, William Thompson, Edward and Owen Biddle, George Ross, John Cadwalader, Robert Morris, Thomas Willing, Daniel Roberdeau and others. To provide the necessary funds they ordered to be issued bills of credit for thirty-five thousand pounds "according to the Resolves of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, made on the 30th day of June, in the

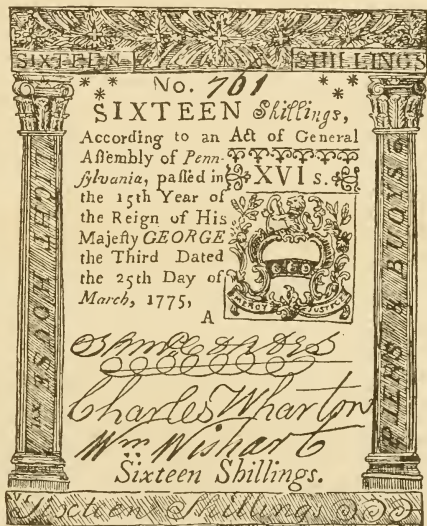


Majesty GEORGE III."!!—and these bills, unlike their predecessors generally, bear the *royal arms*, instead of those of Penn and of Pennsylvania.

The bills were ordered to be delivered to Michael Hillegas, who was appointed Treasurer. Provision was made for their redemption by a tax to be levied on all estates, real and personal, by the assessors, who were "enjoined, and required to raise, levy, and recover, and pay the same as they regard the Freedom, Welfare, and Safety of their Country."

The House, however, was not unmindful of what was due to "Friends," for "taking into consideration that many of the good people of this Province are conscientiously scrupulous of bearing Arms, it is earnestly recommended to the Associators for the defence of their Country, and others, that they bear a tender and brotherly regard towards this class of their fellow-subjects and countrymen; and to these conscientious people, it is also recommended, that they cheerfully assist, in proportion to their abilities, such Associators as cannot spend their time and substance in the public service without great injury to themselves and their families."

The Associators shortly afterwards complained of the lenity shown towards persons professing to be conscientiously scrupulous against bearing arms, and they say "that people *sincerely* and *religiously* scrupulous are but few in comparison to those who, upon this occasion as well as others, make *conscience a convenience*," and they beg the Legislature to establish some decisive plan by which it might not be left to mere *inclination*, but that every one should contribute a fixed and determined proportion either in men or money — and this request was strongly endorsed by the Committee of Safety of which Franklin was now President — but the House adjourned a few days afterwards,



on 30th September, recommending these Applications "to the serious attention of the succeeding Assembly."

The new House assembled on 14th October, 1775, and Robert Morris is now returned for Philadelphia County. The important subject referred to this House is promptly entered upon. "The people called, Quakers" at once addressed them by petition, personally presented, and after endeavoring to show that William Penn's glorious grant of universal toleration, together with the chartered rights of liberty of conscience, would be impinged upon by taxes or otherwise for warlike purposes, they assert "the power of judging respecting our sincerity, belongeth only to the Lord of our Consciences, and we hope, in a Province heretofore remarkable for the preservation of religious and civil liberty, the Representatives of the People will still be conscientiously careful that it may remain inviolate."

Counter petitions, showing the fallacy of these claims, were now presented by the Committee of the city, by the Officers and by the Privates of the Military Association.

At this important juncture, there was a renewed effort to open the doors of the Assembly Room to "Freeholders," that they might hear the debates on a question that vitally concerned the whole community, — but the motion was negatived eighteen to nine. Among those voting in the affirmative were Robert Morris, George Ross, and George Taylor.

The sessions of the Legislature had always been strictly private.¹

In February, 1764, however, a petition was presented from a number of the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, praying "that the House would be pleased to make a standing Order that the Freemen of this Province shall have free access at all seasonable times in future, to hear their Debates, as is the Custom in the House of Commons in Great Britain, and elsewhere in his Majesty's Dominions." This caused considerable debate, and it was finally ordered, that a committee should "examine the Journals of the House of Commons, and report the Usage and Practice thereof, in respect to the Privilege petitioned for by the said Inhabitants, and to enquire likewise what the Practice is in the other American colonies."

It was not, however, till the October sitting of 1770 that a resolution was introduced and passed "to set open the doors of the Assembly Room for the admission of the Freeholders and other reputable

¹ This shows the absurdity, independent of the obvious inconsistency of architecture of the Report to Councils in 1828, "that there had been originally a *gallery* for auditors in Independence Chamber."

inhabitants, at *seasonable times*, to hear the debates," etc., etc. Even this limited privilege was not conceded without a long debate, and upon the first noticeable occasion. *five* years afterwards (4th March, 1775), it was not deemed "seasonable" to open the doors. The question for debate was then the Governor's message of February 21, 1775, on the *only* proper and constitutional mode of obtaining redress of American grievances, viz., by humble representation to his Majesty by the several Assemblies. Eighteen members were then adverse; among them Galloway, Humphreys, and John Morton. Thirteen in favor, — Mifflin, Wayne, Thompson (all of them afterwards Generals in the Army of the Revolution), Charles Thomson, and George Ross.

The debates upon the Memorial of the Associators were protracted, but their requests were finally concurred in. The Assembly recommended all "male white persons," between the ages of sixteen and fifty, "who are not conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms," to join the military association, whose rules and regulations were ratified; they provided that all those who should and would not associate for the defence of the province should contribute an equivalent in money, "ministers of the Gospel of all denominations, and servants purchased *bonâ fide*, alone excepted."

They also directed the sum of £80,000 additional to be issued for the exigencies of the service. It was now stated to the House that for the first time "some persons not sufficiently attending to the importance of preserving public credit at this critical juncture, *scruple* receiving the bills," of the commission for *military* purposes, by which means they feared *depreciation*.¹

The House adjourned on 25th November, 1775, to meet on 12th of February following. Then assembling, they held a session which terminated on 6th April, during which time they determined to raise ten battalions of riflemen, and one of musketmen, consisting of 500 each, and to issue £85,000 in paper money to pay these troops, and to meet other expenses. Their next session covered the period from May 20 to June 14, 1776.²

The celebrated Resolution of Congress of 15th May, recommending in certain cases the establishing of new Governments under "the authority of the People," would possibly, at the outset, have been taken into consideration by the Assembly, but promptly a protest against

¹ Such a catastrophe had never happened to the Pennsylvania Bills of Credit, which, unlike those of most of the colonies, were guarded by real estate security.

² From and after the date of May 21st, we find the name of the Proprietary Governor ignored upon the Journals.

their right to frame a new Government was presented. "We mean not," say divers of the inhabitants, "to object against the House exercising the proper powers it has hitherto been accustomed to use for the safety and convenience of the Province, until such time as a new Constitution, originating from, and founded on, *the authority of the People* shall be finally settled by a Provincial Convention, to be elected for that purpose." But since "the chartered power of this House is derived from our mortal enemy, the King of Great Britain, and the members thereof were elected by such persons only as were either in real or supposed allegiance to the said King, to the exclusion of many worthy inhabitants whom the aforesaid Resolve of Congress hath now rendered Electors; and as this House in its present state is in immediate intercourse with a Governor bearing the said King's commission, and who is his sworn Representative, holding, and by oath obliged to hold, official correspondence with the said King, and is not within the reach of any act of ours to be absolved therefrom, therefore we renounce and protest," etc. This bold document was signed by Daniel Roberdeau, as chairman.

Daniel Roberdeau

It was the result of an immense town meeting, which took place at the State House, and in the adjoining square, notwithstanding the rain, which came down in torrents, on the 20th May, 1776.

Resolutions were adopted:—

First, That the [existing] Instructions [of the House to their delegates in Congress] may have a dangerous tendency to withdraw this Province from the happy Union with other colonies, which we consider our glory and protection.

Second, That the present House of Assembly was not elected for the purpose of forming a new government.

Third, That for them to do so would be assuming arbitrary power.

Fourth, That the present government is incompetent for the exigencies of our affairs.

Fifth, "Resolved, THAT A PROVINCIAL CONVENTION OUGHT TO BE CHOSEN BY THE PEOPLE."

While this action was essentially a tentative experiment, tending to an independent Government, it was the initiative towards practically making the people of America the sovereign power.

A committee was, in consequence of the protest sent them, appointed by the House to draw up a memorial, for a precise explanation by Congress, and legislative action accordingly postponed.

The "Committee of Inspection" for the County of Philadelphia, presented an address to the Assembly, expressive of their alarm "at the prospect of a disunion, which must attend the prosecution of a scheme (for separation from Great Britain) that will in the end not only set Province against Province, but (more dreadful to think) foment civil discords in each."

They admit that if the "infernal plan of despotism" should be persisted in by the British Ministry, they would be driven "by violence to that last shift, a Declaration of Independence; every one will then be convinced of the necessity of such a measure, and we shall be as one man so united and strengthened by the conviction as to bid defiance to all their attempts. What we have to offer or advise is, that you will most religiously adhere to the Instructions given to our Delegates in Congress. We consider them our greatest security. And we do further most seriously entreat that you will to the utmost of your power oppose the changing or altering, in any the least part, of our invaluable Constitution, under which we have experienced every happiness, and in support of which there is nothing just or reasonable which we would not willingly undertake."

These opposing views were again and again brought before the House in Representations and Counter Representations; on the 28th of May the House received a petition from "the Freeman and Inhabitants of the County of Cumberland," wherein they besought the withdrawal of the instructions given to the delegates of Pennsylvania in Congress, in which the latter were enjoined not to consent to any step which might cause, or lead to, a separation from Great Britain.

No action was taken; within a few days, however, — the fifth of June, — the Speaker, promptly upon its receipt, laid before the House a letter dated on 22d May, from the President of the General Convention of Virginia, enclosing resolutions which had been by that body, "thought indispensably necessary to enter into at this important crisis."

As the first official act pregnant with the issue of actual Independence we must listen to the very words as first uttered in this building.

The clerk reads: —

IN CONVENTION, *Wednesday, May 15, 1776.*

Present 112 Members.

Forasmuch as all the Endeavors of the United Colonies, by the most decent Representations and Petitions to the King and Parliament of Great Britain,

to restore Peace and Security to America under the British Government, and a re-union with that People upon just and liberal Terms, instead of a Redress of Grievances, have produced from an imperious and vindictive Administration increased Insult, Oppression, and a vigorous Attempt to effect our total Destruction : — By a late Act all these Colonies are declared to be in Rebellion, and out of the Protection of the British Crown, our Properties subjected to Confiscation, our People, when captivated, compelled to join in the Murder and Plunder of their Relations and Countrymen, and all farther Rapine and Oppressions of Americans declared legal and just ; Fleets and Armies are raised and the Aid of foreign Troops engaged to assist these destructive Purposes : The King's Representative in this Colony hath not only withheld all the Powers of Government from operating for our Safety, but, having retired on Board an armed Ship, is carrying on a piratical and savage War against us, tempting our Slaves, by every Artifice, to resort to him, and training and employing them against their Masters. In this State of extreme Danger, we have no alternative left but an abject Submission to the Will of those overbearing Tyrants or a total Separation from the Crown and Government of Great Britain, uniting and exerting the Strength of all America for Defence, and forming Alliances with Foreign Powers for Commerce and Aid in War : — Wherefore, appealing to the Searcher of Hearts for the Sincerity of former Declarations expressing our Desire to preserve the Connection with that Nation, and that we are driven from that Inclination by their wicked Councils, and the eternal Laws of Self-preservation ;

Resolved, unanimously, That the Delegates appointed to represent this Colony in General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable Body to declare the United Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all Allegiance to, and all Dependence upon, the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain ; and that they give the Assent of this Colony to such Declaration, and to whatever Measures may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign Alliances, and a Confederation of the Colonies, at such Time, and in the Manner, as to them shall seem best : Provided, that the Power of forming Government for, and the Regulations of the internal Concerns of, each Colony be left to the respective Colonial Legislatures.

Resolved, unanimously, That a Committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration of Rights, and such a Plan of Government as will be most likely to maintain Peace and Order in this Colony, and secure substantial and equal Liberty to the People.

Edm^d Pennington S.

A debate of considerable length ensues, the question being finally called for, is put by the Speaker, — shall a committee be appointed to bring in new instructions to the delegates of this Province in Congress.

It was "carried in the affirmative by a large majority," says the Journal.

John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Joseph Reed, George Clymer, and Messrs. Wilcocks, Pearson, and Smith, were appointed the committee to bring in the draught of instructions.

They promptly reported "an essay for that purpose the next day" which was referred for consideration to the day following.

The Pennsylvania Legislature was scarcely yet prepared to take the bold stand of Virginia. Unlike Virginia, Massachusetts, and most of her sister colonies, Pennsylvania had been permitted under the existing government to assume her place in the Union; it could not be said she possessed "no government sufficient to the exigencies of her affairs." It should be borne in mind in reference to this colony that it not only possessed a Proprietary government, but through the Proprietary, had received a most liberal charter by which every individuality had always been protected. Her institutions had nourished and developed the greatest lawyers of their day, who had under all circumstances fearlessly advocated the just privileges of freemen. Andrew Hamilton had successfully shown that the Constitution of England would not tolerate infringement upon individual rights, while his successor, John Dickinson, the very foremost of the early patriots, had proved to English as well as to American minds, that the spirit of that very same Constitution of Great Britain extended to America and embodied all that was needed to ensure *perfect liberty*.

The form of government was thus believed to be unexceptionable, and the acts of the ruling ministry, even though sustained by the reigning sovereign and his parliament, were simply regarded as usurpations that could not and would not be maintained eventually; hence "the Liberals," and "the Conservatives," were nearly equal in numbers.¹

Conservatism naturally thus engendered, and growing with the growth of Pennsylvania, was also reinforced by the religious tenets of the Quakers whose doctrine of non-resistance (like the celebrated hat-on-head theory), originating in a virtue, had far outrun the views of the noble Founders, and thus gave rise to a third class, "the Loyalists."

The fourth class — the Tories, were only represented by Joseph Galloway, Andrew Allen, and a handful of others, who soon "seceded."

¹ The American citizen of to-day whether of New York, or of Boston, or of Philadelphia, shows quite equal forbearance in his toleration of the abuse of republican institutions, in yielding to the rule of the present legislators in city and in state, hoping always that something will "turn up" to rid the country of the jobbers and speculators who now govern it.

While the debate is still pending in the second story of the building, in the legislative assembly, which was to decide the participancy of Pennsylvania, let us descend the stairs with John Dickinson and Robert Morris, who, with Mr. Speaker Morton (restrained by his position from accompanying us), Franklin, Biddle, Humphreys, Willing, Ross, and even Allen, had the right to appear on behalf of Pennsylvania, and enter the great National Assembly then in session in the Eastern Room on the first floor.

It is Friday, the 7th June, 1776. John Hancock, the President, is seated in the ancient chair, once that of the speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly. It stands upon a dais or platform at the eastern end of the chamber, elevated two steps from the floor. Before the President is a plain mahogany table, oblong in shape, with drawers convenient for use, its sole ornament a massive silver inkstand bristling with quills.¹

Over the door of entrance, "suspended in the Congress Room," is its chief decoration, — the Patriot or Rebel Flag of the Navy, which had been presented to Congress on the 8th of February, 1776, by Colonel Christopher Gadsden, of the Marine Committee of Congress. It is described as an "elegant standard, such as is to be used by the commander in chief of the American Navy; being a yellow flag with a lively representation of a rattlesnake in the middle in the attitude of going to strike, and these words underneath, 'Don't tread on me.'"²

In a semicircle on either side of the president are seated the delegates in Congress; clustered in groups, according to the colonies which they represent, in order the more readily to give the authorized vote.

Now is taken that first step toward the Magna Charta, the memorable act which sanctifies the whole building, — the already expected "Runnymede of America."

Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, rises in his place. He holds in his unfettered hand the instructions from the Convention assembled at Williamsburg. Those instructions which we have already heard read to the Pennsylvania Assembly, which had been brought to Philadelphia but a few days before by Thomas Nelson, Jr., himself then present as a delegate from Virginia.

Mr. Lee reads, amidst breathless silence, a resolution still extant in his own handwriting: —

¹ For the reclamation and identification of this inkstand see page

² It was not till June 14, 1777, that Congress adopted the "Stars and Stripes," — thirteen of each, — though the standard in actual use by the army consisted, as early as 1775, of thirteen alternate red and white stripes, either with the British Union Jack, or having upon the stripes a rattlesnake, transversely painted, sometimes with the words given in the text. This latter flag was most probably displayed with the navy flag in June, 1776.

Among the auditors, there are sitting several men, who for many weeks have been toiling to bring their fellow-countrymen to this point, and yet the doubt of unanimity among the colonies causes the stillness that ensues to be almost painful. Personal responsibility had long been lost sight of. This, as well as the fate of the country, had for some time, obviously, been recognized as dependent upon Union; a perfect union would insure success, while division must entail failure; then "Rebellion," with all its consequences. Hence Union was now the paramount idea.

Mr. Dickinson anxiously fixes his eyes upon Samuel Adams, who, catching the anticipated glance, merely compresses his lips a little more tightly, and bows to his younger colleague and namesake, John Adams, who thereupon rises, and seconds the motion, and the momentous question is, without debate, postponed till the morrow.

Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress, seated at the right hand of the President, at a desk similar to his, thus makes the official entry in his Journal: —

"Certain Resolutions respecting Independency being moved and seconded, —
"Resolved, That the consideration of them be referred till to-morrow morning, and that the members be enjoined to attend punctually at ten o'clock, in order to take the same into their consideration."

On the Saturday we may readily imagine a full house. The motion was immediately referred to the "Committee of the Whole," whereupon the President yielded the chair to Benjamin Harrison of Virginia. Till seven o'clock in the evening of that day, and again on Monday the 10th of June, till seven o'clock in the evening, was the question debated in the committee.

Its immediate adoption was now urged on the floor by Richard Henry Lee, John Adams, George Wythe, Elbridge Gerry, Thomas McKean, Thomas Jefferson, and Samuel Adams.

Edward Rutledge, Robert R. Livingston, John Dickinson, James Wilson, and most probably both Carter Braxton and John Rogers, besides some others, earnestly advocated the postponement of the question.

The arguments of the latter prevailed to some extent. It was agreed in committee to report to Congress the Resolution, which was adopted by a vote of seven colonies to five, and the final question was on motion (apparently of Edward Rutledge) in Congress postponed till July 1.

But in order to meet the views of both sides, the Committee of the

Whole expressed its conclusions "that in the mean time, least any time should be lost in case the Congress agree to this Resolution, a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration in conformity to it." This was adopted by Congress.

On the next day, the committee on the Declaration of Independence was chosen by ballot. In the absence of Mr. Lee, the mover of the Resolution (who had been called home by the illness of his wife) Thomas Jefferson was selected from Virginia, that colony being certainly entitled to have the chairman; John Adams, who had seconded it, and the three others chosen were, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.

The delegates from Pennsylvania, it must be borne in mind, up to this time, in common with those from New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, were restricted either specifically by their "instructions," or by the expressed will of their constituents, from agreeing to any act or resolution that would separate the colonies from the mother country.

Let us return to the temporary quarters occupied by the Pennsylvania Legislature, on the second floor of the State House, and trace its action,—since for the present with this colony only we are concerned. When we last left that chamber on 7th June, the Assembly was still debating the proposed instructions to their delegates in Congress, upon which necessarily depended their vote for or against Independence. The debate over "the Cumberland County Petition," as it was called,—though really the question whether or not to concur in the Virginia action,—continued for still another day, and for several days thereafter no quorum could be secured. At last, on 14th June, the very day of what may be regarded their final adjournment,¹ new and modified instructions were finally ordered to be signed by the Speaker. After explaining therein that their previous order to dissent from and reject, on the part of Pennsylvania, any propositions that might cause a separation from Great Britain, "did not arise from any diffidence of your ability, prudence, or integrity, but from an earnest desire to serve the good people of Pennsylvania with fidelity in times full of alarming dangers and perplexing difficulties." They say, "The situation of public affairs is since so greatly altered, that we now think ourselves justifiable *in removing the restrictions* laid upon you by those instructions."

¹ On this same day the House adjourned over to 26th of August; on 28th of that month to 23d of September, and died out in three days more.

They recapitulated their reasons. They avow that the happiness of these colonies had been their first wish during the whole course of the fatal controversy, reconciliation with Great Britain their next; but that at this time all hopes for a reconciliation on reasonable terms were extinguished.

Within a few days, there met at Carpenters' Hall a body of representative men called "The Provincial Conference." It was composed of committees sent from the various counties of Pennsylvania, the result of the meeting (we have already attended) in State House Yard, to determine *what* action should be taken by the people of Pennsylvania under the Resolution of the Continental Congress for suppressing all authority under the Crown of Great Britain. After promptly resolving upon a call for a Constitutional Convention, they unanimously, on 24th June, the eve of adjournment, for their constituents and themselves, declared their "willingness to concur in a vote of the Congress declaring the United Colonies free and independent States."

On the 28th of June the Committee of Congress submitted to that body their draft of the Declaration of Independence. It was necessarily permitted to lie over.

The day fixed for final action upon the momentous question itself, the first of July, now rapidly approached.

The constituted authorities of Pennsylvania had, as we witnessed, withdrawn their restrictive instructions, to enable their representatives to concur in the voice of the majority of the colonies. This fact, together with the expression of the popular will indorsing and emphasizing the action of their representatives, was laid before Congress.

Delaware, on 14th June, also had taken parallel action with Pennsylvania.

New Jersey on 21st, and Maryland on 28th June, had specifically authorized their delegates to concur in declaring Independence, and their action was also laid before Congress.

The South Carolina delegates had long been left untrammelled,¹ it

¹ William Henry Drayton, President of the Provincial Assembly of South Carolina, in February, 1776, was desired to thank the returned delegates, Middleton, Gadsden, and John Rutledge, for their action in Congress.

"It became your business to ascertain the rights of America . . . to make humble representations to the King for redress, and he being deaf to the cries of his American subjects, to appeal to the King of kings for the recovery of the rights of an infant people, by the Majesty of Heaven, formed for future empire, . . . whatever may be the issue of this unlooked-for defensive civil war in which unfortu-

being discretionary with the majority, or even a single delegate (should he alone be present), to concert, agree to, and execute every measure which they or he, together with a majority of the Continental Congress, should judge necessary for the defence, security, interest, or welfare of South Carolina in particular or America in general.

New York, alone, remained unresponsive. Her restrictive instructions were still unrepealed. The New York Provincial Congress, on motion of John Jay, unanimously resolved that the people of that province had not given authority, either to that Congress or to the delegates to the Continental Congress, to declare independency of Great Britain; and therefore they appealed to all the freeholders to give instructions at the ensuing election to their deputies, and to vest them with authority in the premises. At this time George Clinton, Henry Wisner, William Floyd, Francis Lewis, and John Alsop,¹ were actually present in Congress. The last mentioned was decidedly opposed to the measure, while Mr. Wisner was as earnestly in its favor, but he himself tells us that he had received the instructions of his constituents (not to concur in declaring independency), and that he would faithfully pursue them.

Thus stood affairs, when, on the first day of July, Congress again resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to take into consideration the "Resolution respecting Independency," the declaration itself being referred to the same body.

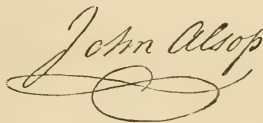
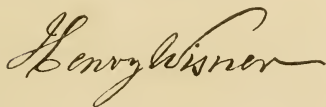
"After some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the Committee had come to a resolution which they desired here to report, and to move for leave to sit again."

It appears that in the Committee of the Whole, in addition to those States so voting previously, the delegates from New Jersey and from Maryland had given their voices in favor of, while the Pennsylvania and

nately, though gloriously, we are engaged, — whether *independence* or slavery, — all the blood and all the guilt must be imputed to British and not to American counsels."

A few days subsequently the new and liberal instructions were given the delegates, as stated in the text.

¹ Fac-simile signatures of two of these delegates are given, since they are not affixed to the engrossed Declaration.



South Carolina vote had been given adversely to, the Resolution.¹ The vote of Delaware was lost, owing to the difference of views held by the only two members in attendance, Messrs. McKean and Read. The New York delegates asked, and obtained, permission to withdraw from the vote. "At the request of a Colony, the determination of the Resolution was put off till the next day," Mr. Rutledge, it is said, stating that he believed his colleagues, though they disapproved of the Resolution, would join for the sake of unanimity. Mr. McKean undoubtedly promised the attendance of a third delegate to give the casting vote of his State.

Thus stands the record : —

"TUESDAY, JULY 2d, 1776.

"THE CONGRESS RESUMED THE CONSIDERATION OF THE RESOLUTION REPORTED FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE, WHICH WAS AGREED TO AS FOLLOWS : —

"*Resolved*, THAT THESE UNITED COLONIES ARE, AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; THAT THEY ARE ABSOLVED FROM ALL ALLEGIANCE TO THE BRITISH CROWN, AND THAT ALL POLITICAL CONNECTION BETWEEN THEM, AND THE STATE OF GREAT-BRITAIN, IS AND OUGHT TO BE TOTALLY DISSOLVED."

South Carolina, as well as Pennsylvania, and Delaware too, now added their voices to the will of the majority of the Colonies. Thus, on the second day of July, every State, except New York, concurred in the Virginia motion, and resolved themselves

FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES.

¹ Among those participating in this vote were John Dickinson, Thomas Willing, Charles Humphreys, and John Rogers. As they were not members of Congress when the Declaration was signed, their fac-simile signatures are herewith presented.

John Dickinson *Charles Humphreys*

Thomas Willing *John Rogers*

The Record of July 2d, further reads : —

"AGREEABLE TO THE ORDER OF THE DAY, THE CONGRESS RESOLVED ITSELF INTO A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE; AND AFTER SOME TIME, THE PRESIDENT RESUMED THE CHAIR, AND MR. HARRISON REPORTED, THAT THE COMMITTEE HAD UNDER CONSIDERATION THE DECLARATION TO THEM REFERRED, BUT NOT HAVING HAD TIME TO GO THROUGH THE SAME, DESIRED HIM TO MOVE FOR LEAVE TO SIT AGAIN :

"*Resolved*, THAT THIS CONGRESS WILL TO-MORROW AGAIN RESOLVE ITSELF INTO A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE, TO TAKE INTO THEIR FARTHER CONSIDERATION THE DECLARATION RESPECTING INDEPENDENCE."

Thus not only during the rest of the second day, but the whole of the third and of the fourth, in Committee of the Whole, was the Declaration, in explanation of their action, debated paragraph by paragraph.¹ Late in the evening of the fourth it was finally passed, and ordered to be engrossed for the signatures of the Delegates from the various *States*.

It was not, however, till the next day that the official promulgation of Independence was ordered by the President of Congress.²

Congress sat, as was the custom with deliberative bodies at that day, with closed doors, its members pledged to secrecy. So important a step

¹ It is related that its author was discovered by Dr. Franklin "writhing under" the alterations. Whereupon he related an incident of his own early days, the case of one of his companions, who, having served out his time as an apprentice to a hatter, was about to open shop for himself, and desired a handsome sign board with an appropriate inscription. "He composed it in these words : 'John Thompson, Hatter, makes and sells Hatts for ready money,' with a figure of a hat subjoined. But he thought he would submit it to his friends for their amendments. The first he showed it to thought the word *Hatter* tautologous, because followed by the words *makes hats*, which showed he was a hatter. It was struck out. The next observed that the word *makes* might as well be omitted, because his customers would not care who made the hats ; if good and to their mind, they would buy, by whomsoever made. He struck it out. A third said he thought the words *for ready money* were useless, as it was not the custom of the place to sell on credit. Every one who purchased expected to pay. They were parted with, and the inscription now stood, 'John Thompson sells hats.' 'Sells hats!!' says his next friend, 'why, nobody will expect you to give them away. What, then, is the use of that word?' It was stricken out, and *hats* was stricken out, the rather as there was one painted on the board. So his inscription was reduced ultimately to 'John Thompson,' with the figure of a hat subjoined."

² So many misconceptions, so many misstatements, have been made as to the time, place, and circumstances of promulgating the Declaration of Independence as to make it important to bear the actual facts in mind. The absurd stories of a blue-eyed boy and of the immense crowd besieging the doors of Congress on the 4th of July, and of the reading of Declaration by Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress, from the steps or balcony of the State House, are pure inventions.

as a severance of the ties which connected the Colonies with the mother country could not have been agitated and acted upon, without admitting the general public into a knowledge of the fact, apart from which, it was wished and indeed designed, as has been already shown, to predicate the action of the federal Congress upon the expressed wishes of the individual colonies.

In the correspondence of the day, accordingly, the members did not preserve their usual reticence; they did not hesitate in their familiar letters, in June, to foretell the event, nor *immediately* after the debate and vote of the second day of July — the really important day — to announce the fact, as the most memorable epoch in the history of America, a day to be celebrated throughout all time.

It was not until July 4th, the day of the final adoption of the Declaration itself, that any action was taken to authorize the public announcement. On that day it was formally “Resolved, that copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the Continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States and at the head of the army.”

Printed copies were at once prepared, promptly signed by John Hancock as President, and attested by Charles Thomson as Secretary. These were transmitted in accordance with the resolution.

In this form, it was laid before the Committee of Safety in Philadelphia, who, besides directing copies to be sent to the other counties of the State, ordered, “That the Sheriff of Philadelphia read or cause to be read and proclaimed at the State House, in the city of Philadelphia, on Monday the 8th day of July instant, at 12 o'clock at noon of this same day, the Declaration of the Representatives of the United States of America, and that he cause all his officers and the constables of the said city to attend the reading thereof.

“Resolved, that every member of this Committee in or near the city be ordered to meet at the committee chamber before 12 o'clock Monday, to proceed to the State House, where the Declaration of Independence is to be proclaimed.”

The Committee of Inspection of the City and Liberties were requested to attend.

July 8, 1776, broke “a warm, sunshiny morning.” The Committee of Inspection assembled at the Philosophical Hall¹ at eleven o'clock, thence in procession proceeding to the Lodge, they were joined by the

¹ Not their building on the Square, which it must be remembered was not built for twelve years afterwards, but in Second Street.



THE PORTRAIT OF JOHN NIXON.

Committee of Safety; they then marched to the State House Yard and collected about the Observatory. The constituted authorities, including a number of the Delegates in Congress, filed out from the rear entrance to do honor to the occasion. John Nixon, a prominent member of the Committee of Safety, stood on the balcony or platform of the Observatory, the popular rostrum of the day, and, in a voice clear and distinct enough to be heard on the opposite side of Fifth Street, read aloud to the people, for the first time, the Declaration of Independence.¹

The vast concourse of people greeted it by loud cheers and repeated huzzas.

The royal insignia over the judges' seats were taken down and burnt, then the crowd left the square to exhibit, in other congenial ways in different parts of the city, their contempt for the King and his authority; assembling again at five o'clock in the afternoon on the common to listen to the proclamation to the troops and to join in bon-fires, impromptu fire-works, and other demonstrations of joy. The night was star-light and beautiful.

The old State House Bell made its Biblical quotation intelligible to every ear. For a quarter of a century its familiar tones had been the signal for assembling the liegemen of a foreign potentate²; to-day it called together a sovereign people only to dismiss them with the benediction, *all men are born free and independent*.³

¹ A printed broadside of the Declaration found among the papers of John Nixon, possibly the identical sheet from which he then read, has been deposited in Independence Hall by his great grand-daughter, Mrs. Charles Henry Hart.

² In early days "those members who do not appear within half an hour after the ringing of the bell and the speaker assuming the chair shall pay a ten penny bit," etc., and again "those members who do not appear within half an hour after the Assembly bell ceases to ring shall pay one shilling."

³ Even the bells of Christ Church joined in the chorus as merrily, aye and as steadily, as if the Rev. Jacob Duché, its Pastor, had that day espoused the patriot cause. In this gentleman's subsequent and famous letter to Washington, he states, that he persisted in using the public prayer for his sovereign and the royal family till the latest moment, though threatened with insults from the violence of a party; but that on the Declaration of Independence, not being able to consult his spiritual superior, he called his vestry together and solemnly put the question, whether they thought it best for the peace and welfare of the congregations (of St. Peters as well as Christ Church) to shut up the churches, or to continue the services, without using the petitions for the royal family."

The Minute Books, still extant in the careful custody of the Rev. Edward A. Foggo, the present (1876) Rector, under the prompt date of July 4, 1776, show that their religious observances conformed to their public action in "chiming the chimers," though apparently to the surprise of Mr. John Adams. The Entry is—

Thus was fulfilled that portion of the text inscribed upon its surface, and which has been celebrated in prose and in verse. Whether a "coincidence" only, or whether an inspiration induced Mr. Speaker Norris thus, twenty-four years before, to baptize his State House Bell, would seem a mere choice of words, determinable by one's stand-point, but certain it is, that the Divine command, to which reference is made upon the bell, is, as we write, about to be obeyed to the letter: —

"AND YE SHALL HALLOW THE FIFTIETH YEAR, AND PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF: IT SHALL BE A JUBILEE UNTO YOU." — Lev. xxv. 10.

Such in full are the words of Holy Writ, such the Handwriting on the Wall.

We consult the oldest inhabitant, we scan the records of the day in vain, for any *especial* notice of the *first* fiftieth birth-day of the Nation;¹ but the second, its golden anniversary, is about to be a "Jubilee" unto us and unto all men.

Honor be to that man who made the first move, whether he be familiar with the Scriptural injunction, or the unconscious instrument in the hands of his Maker.

For full fifty years, as nearly as can be ascertained, our Liberty Bell — for so it should be universally denominated — continued to celebrate every national anniversary, and then — it cracked, it had performed its mission and was mute forever.²

Its vicissitudes had, however, been many; when the American

"Present Rev. Jacob Duché, Rector; Thos. Cuthbert, Church Warden; Jacob Duché, Robt. Whyte, Chas. Stedman, Edmund Physick, James Biddle, Peter le Haven, Jas. Reynolds, Gerardus Clarkson, Vestry men.

"Whereas, the Hon. Continental Congress have resolved to declare the American Colonies to be free and independent states: In consequence of which it will be proper to omit those Petitions in the Liturgy where the King of Great Britain is prayed for, as inconsistent with the said declaration, therefore Resolved, that it appears to this vestry to be necessary for the peace and well being of the Churches to omit the said Petitions; and the Rectors and Assistant Ministers of the united churches are requested in the name of the vestry and their constituents to omit such petitions as are above mentioned."

¹ We should not fail to recall, however, the remarkable coincidence that occurred on this day. The only two surviving signers of the Declaration who voted upon its adoption, — Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, — lived just long enough to celebrate it, and died July 4, 1826, within a few hours of each other.

² The personal statement made, while these pages are going through the press, by the venerable Titian R. Peale, shows conclusively that Liberty Bell was cracked in tolling, July 8, 1835, for the death of John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States.



THE LIBERTY BELL.

Boston, January 25
My dear Mr. Garrison,

Received of you
\$100.00

Received of you
\$100.00

Received of you
\$100.00

Received of you
\$100.00

Received of you
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Received of you
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forces, in 1777, were about to leave Philadelphia, the Bell (and the chimes of Christ Church, its coadjutors in announcing Independence, shared its fortunes) was taken down by the Commissary and transported to Allentown¹ to prevent its falling into the hands of the British, who were then about to occupy the city. Though brought back to town after the evacuation, it does not seem to have been restored to its original place in the old steeple.

On the fifteenth day of July the President received and laid before Congress a resolution, unanimously adopted by "the convention of the representatives of the State of New York," dated July 9th, 1776, from White Plains, "That the reasons assigned by the Continental Congress for declaring the United Colonies free and independent States are cogent and conclusive, and that while we lament the cruel necessity which has rendered that measure unavoidable, we approve the same, and will at the risk of our lives and fortunes join with the other colonies in supporting it."

Thus the chain became complete, and instructions were now given to the engrossing clerk to alter the heading of the Declaration of Independence, as the draft read (and as adopted by Congress, and as was actually proclaimed to the people on the 8th day of July), by the insertion of the words "The unanimous."

It was not, however, and this is a fact too often lost sight of, until the second day of August that the Declaration of Independence, engrossed on parchment, was brought into the Chamber of Congress and placed upon the President's table for the signatures of the individual members.

All those actually present on *that* day, affixed their names, and

¹ September 15, 1777. By order of the Executive Council, the bells of Christ Church (seven in number) as well as those of St. Peter's (two in number) were ordered to be taken down and removed to a place of safety, in anticipation of General Howe taking possession of Philadelphia. This was upon the recommendation of Congress. The church wardens and vestry very seriously objected, on hearing what was about to be done, and they tried, through John Penn, to induce Congress to make an exception in favor of the church bells on account of the great risk in taking them down, the improbability of having a proper person to replace them, and a feeling on the part of the vestry that they were really in no danger; and receiving the reply that Congress had but recommended the measure, they then applied to the Executive Council, but without success, and Colonel Flower accordingly removed them. He, however, in October, 1778, replaced them at the public expense.

In passing through the streets of Bethlehem, the wagon containing the State House Bell broke down, and had to be unloaded.

many were thus included who had no share in debating or voting upon the document. It was then turned over to Charles Thomson, the secretary; and, as each new member joined his colleagues, he was called upon to sign. Thus will be found the names, in some instances, of Representatives who were not concurrently in Congress.

The change of title from "A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled," into "The Unanimous Declaration," etc., has produced much needless confusion, and even misrepresentation.

Before the expiration of the week in which Independence was proclaimed, the convention to form a constitution for the new State of Pennsylvania assembled in the State House. The Judicial Chamber, opposite that of Independence, seems to have been appropriated for its sessions. It met July 15, and continued in session until September 28, 1776.

Shortly after its organization, it unanimously approved the resolution declaring Pennsylvania, as well as the other United States of America, free and independent, and avowed "before God and the world, that we will support and maintain the freedom and independence of this and the other United States of America, at the utmost risk of our lives and fortunes."

The Convention did not hesitate to assume the legislative functions required by the call. On the 20th day of July they elected delegates to Congress, fixed the number at nine, and authorized a majority, at any time present, to be a quorum. They reelected Messrs. Franklin, Robert Morris, and Wilson; and superseded Messrs. Dickinson, Willing, Humphreys, Biddle, and Allen, by George Ross, George Clymer, James Smith (three of their own members), Benjamin Rush, and George Taylor. Thus was constituted the delegation who officially signed the Declaration of Independence on behalf of Pennsylvania.

The Convention finally, on 28th September, "unanimously passed and confirmed" a declaration of rights and a frame of government for the Commonwealth. These served as the fundamental law, successfully ruling the State throughout the whole of the Revolutionary Struggle.

The Executive, vested in a President and Council, and the Legislature, in a single House of Representatives, were, at the first, both accommodated in the chambers of the second story of the State House.

The Assembly met for the first time on the 28th November, 1776.

The character of its members seems to have been essentially changed, and we find it entered of record, "A quorum did not appear, in consequence of the absence of the members in the army."¹ This was from December 14, 1776, to January 13, 1777, when the House again met, and sat till 21st March, and again from May 12 to June 19, — without a quorum, however, from 12th to 21st May, — and from September 3d to 18th, — without a quorum for ten days. On the 18th September, an account having been received "that the enemy's army were in full march for this city, it was agreed that the General Assembly should adjourn to the borough of Lancaster, to meet there on 25th September."²

Congress had, upon similar apprehensions, left Philadelphia at the close of December, 1776, but had promptly returned, and reconvened in its chamber March 4, 1777.³

Now, however, their apprehensions were well founded; they hurried away in the night of September 18, upon the actual approach of the British. After one meeting (27th September), at Lancaster, they adjourned to York, Pennsylvania, and sat there from 30th September, 1777, till June 27, 1778.

The British held possession of Philadelphia from September 26, 1777, till 18th June following.

During their occupation of the city under General Howe, the State House was used as a prison and hospital. It was here, that the so-called "arch fiend" Cunningham, the Provost Marshal, exercised his atrocities. This man had deserted from the American to the British employ, and some of the prisoners who escaped from his clutches stated to Francis Hopkinson that they had actually seen bodies of their fellow sufferers lying in the State House Yard, who had died of mere famine, with unchewed grass hanging out of their mouths. They reported that a bucket full of broth had been sent, by some citizens, to the prisoners confined in the provost; that Cunningham had taken it into the State House Yard, and when the starving victims had gathered eagerly around it, he kicked over the bucket with his foot, and then

¹ In the year preceding, we are told by Mr. Young, in a letter to Mrs. Fergusson, of Græme Park, "Our Honorable House made but a scurvy appearance the day the memorial was presented to them by the Committees, it was enough to make one sweat to see a parcel of Countrymen sitting with their hats on, great coarse cloth coats, Leather breeches, and woollen stockings in the month of July; there was not a speech made the whole time, whether their silence proceeded from their modesty or from their inability to speak, I know not." MS.

² It sat at Lancaster, September 29 to October 13, 1777.

³ They met in Baltimore from December 20, 1776, to February 27, 1777.

laughed to see them, prostrate on the ground, lap up the slop like dogs.

Congress returned to their chamber in the State House on 2d July, 1778. Shortly after, took place the ceremonial reception of the Chevalier Conrad Alexandre Gérard, the first minister accredited to the United States from any foreign power. Much formality was hence given to it. M. Gérard had reached Philadelphia early in July, but it was not until 6th August that, escorted by Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams, in a chariot and six horses, he delivered personally his credentials. "The carriages being arrived at the State House," says a looker-on, "the two members of Congress, placing themselves at the Minister's left hand, introduced him to his chair in the Congress Chamber, the President and Congress sitting; the chair was placed, fronting the President. The Minister, being seated, handed his credentials to his Secretary, who advanced and delivered them to the President, Henry Laurens. The Secretary of Congress, Charles Thomson, then read and translated them, which being done, Mr. Lee announced *The Minister* to the President and Congress; at this time the President, the Congress, and the Minister rose together; he bowed to the President and Congress, and they bowed to him, whereupon the whole seated themselves." After a speech by the Minister, and another by the President, and an interchange of copies thereof, mutual ceremonial bows as before, the Minister retired.

The description given of the sitting of Congress at this time affords us the best idea of their habits. "Within the bar of the House, the Congress formed a semicircle, on each side of the President, and the Minister; the President, sitting at one extremity of the circle, at a table upon a platform, elevated two steps, the Minister sitting, at the opposite extremity of the circle, in an arm-chair upon the same level with the Congress." The door of the Congress Chamber was on this occasion thrown open, and without the Bar were admitted, to the audience, the Vice President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State, the Speaker and the Assembly of Pennsylvania, foreigners of distinction, and officers of the army.

The newspapers of the day exclaim: "Thus has a new and noble sight been exhibited in this New World—the Representatives of the United States of America, solemnly giving public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from the most powerful prince in Europe. Four years ago such an event, at so near a day, was not in the view even of imagination; but it is the Almighty who raiseth up; He hath stationed America among the powers of the earth, and clothed her in robes of sovereignty."

Upon the ninth day of July, 1778, and in "the 3d year of the Independence of America," the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union" between the United States of America had been signed in this same chamber, by the delegates in Congress of eight States, but it was not to be binding, until ratified by the whole thirteen.

The Resolution of 7th June, 1776, included a provision for "a plan of confederation," and a Committee was appointed on the 12th to prepare a draft therefor. This Committee consisted of Josiah Bartlett, Samuel Adams, Stephen Hopkins, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston, John Dickinson, Thomas McKean, Thomas Stone, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Joseph Hewes, Edward Rutledge, and Button Gwinnett, — a Representative from each State.

John Dickinson was the mouth-piece of this eminent Committee, and reported, as early as July 12, 1776; but so many conflicting interests were to be compromised, and such diversity of sentiment reconciled, that it was not until March 1, 1781, that the final ratification took place.¹

The following members were signers of the Articles of Confederation on the part and behalf of the State of —

New Hampshire.

JOSIAH BARTLETT.

JOHN WENTWORTH, JR.

Massachusetts.

JOHN HANCOCK.

FRANCIS DANA.

SAMUEL ADAMS.

JAMES LOVELL.

ELBRIDGE GERRY.

SAMUEL HOLTEN.

Rhode Island.

WILLIAM ELLERY.

JOHN COLLINS.

HENRY MARCHANT.

Connecticut.

ROGER SHERMAN.

TITUS HOSMER.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON.

ANDREW ADAM.

OLIVER WOLCOTT.

¹ "The eight states" were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina. North Carolina ratified "The Articles of Confederation" on 21st July, Georgia on 24th, New Jersey on 26th November, Delaware on 5th May, 1779, and Maryland on 1st March, 1781.

New York.

JAMES DUANE.
FRANCIS LEWIS.

WILLIAM DUER.
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

New Jersey.

JOHN WITHERSPOON.

NATHANIEL SCUDDER,

Pennsylvania.

ROBERT MORRIS.
DANIEL ROBERDEAU.
JONATHAN BAYARD SMITH.

WILLIAM CLINGAN.
JOSEPH REED.

Delaware.

THOMAS MCKEAN.
JOHN DICKINSON.

NICHOLAS VAN DYKE.

Maryland.

JOHN HANSON.

DANIEL CARROLL.

Virginia.

RICHARD HENRY LEE.
JOHN BANNISTER.
THOMAS ADAMS.

JOHN HARVIE.
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

North Carolina.

JOHN PENN.
CORNELIUS HARNETT.

JOHN WILLIAMS.

South Carolina.

HENRY LAURENS.
WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON.
JOHN MATTHEWS.

RICHARD HUTSON.
THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.

Georgia.

JOHN WALTON.
EDWARD TELFAIR.

EDWARD LANGWORTHY.

The form of government remained unchanged, but the powers of Congress — still consisting of one body — and of the respective States, were better defined; while its defects were many, it is stated to have been “of extended benefit; to have met the pressing wants of the Union and thus strengthened it. It conferred a great educational service through the experience of its defects, and it carried the nation along until a more efficient system was provided. No less an author-

ity than Chief Justice Marshall has declared that "this service alone entitles that instrument to the respectful recollections of the American people and its FRAMERS to their gratitude."

Thus not only was the Declaration of Independence debated and signed within the walls of our chamber, but so, also, the next step in the history of the Union was herein taken, and, as we shall presently see, herein too that union made more perfect by the framing and signing of the Constitution of the United States itself. Throughout the residue of the Revolutionary War, the Continental Congress continued to hold its sessions and to debate every question of legislative importance in Independence Chamber.

The closing scene of the Revolution, the surrender of Cornwallis, is brought into direct association from the fact, that the British and Hessian regimental flags, captured at Yorktown, twenty-four in number, were, according to the newspapers of the day "received by volunteer cavalry at the Schuylkill, paraded through the streets preceded by the American and French colors at a proper distance, and *at the State House*, the hostile standards were there laid at the feet of Congress and of his excellency the Ambassador of France." This took place on 3d November, 1781.

Thus almost every event was more or less chronicled within the walls of our State House, from the time of its first occupancy, independent of the important scenes in the great historical drama attempted to be recalled.

"All of a sudden Congress left Philadelphia, in the summer of 1783," — such is the last record given. The cause of their abrupt departure, this time, was not a foreign foe, but the apparent apprehension of revolt on the part of their own soldiers, whose payment had been some time delayed.

On Saturday, 21st June, 1783, when the Supreme Executive Council was sitting, a handful of soldiers from the barracks brought a threatening message to the State Executive, requiring permission to appoint commissioned officers over themselves, that they might obtain "redress of grievances." The Council at once refused to consider their application. The soldiers, in the mean time, had increased in numbers to upwards of three hundred, who paraded before the State House, while fifteen or twenty posted themselves in the yard; they stationed ostensible guards at the doors of the State House, which, however, denied ingress or egress in reality to none. The Council remained firm, and authorized General St. Clair, who promptly repaired to the spot, to allay the irritation by a conference with the insurgents.

Congress had adjourned over, as usual, from Friday to Monday, but the President and some members collected in their chamber, and while they assented to the conference, seem informally to have made up their minds "that there is not a satisfactory ground for expecting adequate and prompt exertions of this State for supporting the dignity of the Federal Government," and in such case, under advice, etc., they authorized and directed the President to summon the members of Congress to meet, at Trenton, or Princeton.

It is stated that the President, Elias Boudinot, was personally stopped in the street, but that some of the leaders at once rebuked their followers for so doing, and apologized for the act.

Nevertheless, this *emeute* resulted in the adjournment of Congress to Princeton, where they met on 30th June, and there they remained until November 4th, meeting on 26th November, 1783, at Annapolis, in Maryland.¹ They continued at that place till June 3, 1784, and during this time received the resignation of the commander-in-chief of their armies. Their next session was held at Trenton, November 1, 1784, to December 24, whence they adjourned and met in New York, January 11, 1785, and there they finally dissolved in 1789.

In the mean time, efforts were promptly made in the summer of 1783, by the State Government, to bring back Congress to Philadelphia; every possible guarantee of security was offered for their safe and honorable sojourn, in Philadelphia, if they would return, and the State even evinced a willingness to grant to national authority all jurisdiction that might be deemed necessary.

Some of their own members endeavored to induce the return of Congress, even temporarily, to Philadelphia, but in vain. Still the Assembly do not appear to have given up the hope of it. The Congressional Chamber seems still to have been reserved for their contingent use for several years, after its actual abandonment by Congress.

Among the visitors to Congress, ere they left the State House, was the Marquis de Chastellux, in 1780, who has left us an account of his impressions: —

"The Hall in which Congress assembles is spacious, without magnificence ;

¹ It was at first resolved that Congress should meet at *two* places — alternating — one on the Potomac and the other on the Delaware. This gave rise to a sarcastic effusion from the pen of Francis Hopkinson, wherein he aimed to determine the curve and oscillation of what he called "this political bob," though concluding that in this instance the rule of gravitation would be reversed, since the bob would be more inclined to motion in proportion as the matter of which it was composed should be more dull and heavy.

its handsomest ornament is the portrait of General Washington, larger than life. He is on foot, in that noble and easy attitude which is natural to him; Cannon, Colours, and all the attributes of war form the accessories of the picture. [This was Charles Wilson Peale's portrait of Washington after the battle of Princeton.] I was then conducted into the Secretary's hall, which has nothing remarkable but the manner in which it is furnished; the Colours taken from the enemy serve by way of tapestry. From thence you pass to the [Assembly] library, which is pretty large, but far from being filled; the few books it is composed of appear to be well chosen.

"The building is rather handsome; the staircase in particular is wide and noble; as to external ornaments, they consist only in the decoration of the gate, and in several tablets of marble placed above the windows. I remarked a peculiarity in the roof which appeared new to me: the chimneys are bound to the two extremities of the building, which is a long square, and are so constructed as to be fastened together in the form of an arch, thus forming a sort of portico."

The constituted authorities of Pennsylvania also returned to their old quarters in the State House, immediately upon the evacuation by the British.

The Assembly, which, it must be remembered, still consisted of a single body, met again in their chamber, up stairs, on the 26th October, 1778.

They retained this room, for their sittings, for some ten years, but seem to have moved down stairs into the old Judicial (western) Chamber, opposite to that still occupied by Congress, about 1780, or 1781, and, as far as can be learned, continued their sessions herein till 1790.

M. de Chastellux, whose account of his visit to Congress has already been cited, "went again to the State House with M. de La Fayette, Cte. de Noailles, De Damas, M. de Gimat, etc., to be present at the Assembly of the State. We seated ourselves on a bench opposite the Speaker's chair; on his right was the President of the State; the clerks were placed at a long table before the Speaker. The Executive Council was sent for and heard."

It was also during their occupancy of this Judicial Chamber that the "act for regulating party walls" was debated, in which was introduced a clause (though subsequently repealed), requiring the destruction of all the trees, on certain streets throughout the city.

It was on 12th April, 1782, "when," says Francis Hopkinson, "to the amazement of all present, the business was interrupted by a voice, perfectly articulate, proceeding from the capital of one of the columns

which supported the ceiling of the room. This voice claimed a right to be heard on the subject of the bill, then before the House.

After the first surprise at such an unusual prodigy had a little subsided, the right of a column to interfere in the business of the House was considered and objected to; and it was urged, that no instance had ever occurred where a *wooden member* — a *Blockhead* — had presumed to speak in that Assembly; that this column could, by no construction of law, be admitted as the Representative of any part or district of Pennsylvania, having never been ballotted for, elected, or returned, as a member of Assembly. That the House, when fully met, necessarily consisted of a certain number of members, *and no more*, and that this number is full and complete, by the returns from the several counties, as appears by the records of the House; therefore, if this column should be allowed a voice, there must be a supernumerary member somewhere, which would be an absolute violation of the Constitution. And lastly, that it is contrary to the order of nature that an *inanimate* log should interfere in the affairs of rational beings, Providence having been pleased to distinguish so obviously between men and things.

To all this the column *firmly* replied, that he was, properly speaking, a *standing member* of that House, having been duly fixed in his station by those who had the right and power to place him there; that he was the true Representative of a numerous race, descended in a direct line from the Aborigines of this country, those venerable ancestors who gave the name of PENN-SYLVANIA to this State, and whose posterity now inhabit every county in it; that he was not only a member of the House, but one of its principal SUPPORTERS, inasmuch as they could never “make a house” without him; that he had faithfully attended the public business, having never been fined as an absentee, and that those very members who now opposed him had confided in his wisdom and integrity, by constantly appealing to him¹ in every contest about the rules and internal economy of the House; and, lastly, that, as the bill under consideration so nearly concerned his fellow creatures, and as he found himself miraculously endowed with the power of speech for this occasion, he was determined to make use of it in behalf of those who could not speak for themselves. After much debate, it was determined that the House would hear what this importunate Post had to say respecting the bill before them, but peremptorily refused to allow him a vote on this or any other business in that Assembly.

¹ The Rules of the House were framed and hung up against one of the columns.

The columnar orator, having obtained leave, addressed the House in the following words : —

"I am happy, O fellow-citizens, that speech hath been given me on this important occasion ; and that I have your permission to exercise a power, thus wonderfully obtained, in the cause of truth and justice.

"I stand here this day an *upright* advocate for injured innocence. What fury, what madness, O deluded senators ! hath induced you to propose the extirpation of those to whom you are indebted for so many of the elegancies, comforts, and blessings of life ? If the voice of justice is not to be regarded within these walls, let your own interests influence your conduct on this occasion. For I hope to show that your safety and happiness are much more deeply concerned, in the business you are upon, than you are at present aware of.

"By the 12th section of the bill now depending, it is proposed to cut down and remove all the trees standing in the streets, lanes, or alleys of this city. What ! do we then hold our lives on such an uncertain tenure ? Shall the respectable and inoffensive inhabitants of this city *stand* or *fall* according to the caprice of a few ignorant petitioners ? And will this House, without remorse, without even the form of trial, give its sanction to an edict, which hath not a parallel since the sanguinary days of Herod of Jewry ? But I hope to convince this honorable House that *trees*, as well as *men*, are capable of enjoying the rights of citizenship, and therefore ought to be protected in those rights ; that, having committed no offense, this arbitrary edict cannot *constitutionally* pass against them, and that your own, and the welfare of your constituents, is nearly concerned in their preservation and culture.

"In reply to the charge that the trees are not well affected to the present government, because they remained with the enemy when they had possession of the city, I would ask, Will any one pretend to say that the leaving or not leaving the city, on the approach of the enemy, marks the true line of distinction between *Whig* and *Tory* ? It is confessed that we remained when others fled ; we stood our ground and heroically suffered in our country's cause. Turn, worthy senators ! turn your eyes to yonder fields ! Look towards the banks of the *Schuylkill* ! Where are now those venerable oaks, that o'er the evening walk of sober citizen, of musing bard, of sportive youths, and sighing nymphs and swains, were wont to spread their hospitable shade ? Alas ! nought now remains but lifeless stumps, that moulder in the summer's heat and winter's frost, the habitations fit of poison-

ous fungi, toads, and ever-gnawing worms. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* These were thy feats, O Howe!

"Excuse, great sirs, this weakness in a Post, or rather, join your sympathetic tears with mine; the loss is yours — a loss, the importance of which you have not, perhaps, duly considered. * * * *

"It is now many years since I lost my vegetable life by the fatal axe, my skin was stript off, and my limbs lopt away — and yet, you see my body is still of use, and I stand here *firm, sound*, and hearty. And barring an accident from all consuming fires, I shall attend future debates in this house, when those whom I have the honor now to address shall be *no more*."

These columns undoubtedly did survive all who could have understood this speech, for, alas, a succeeding generation, deaf to, or ignorant of, this accost, consigned them to the axe, and selected in their stead iron supporters, which, if endowed now with speech, could only tell us of the petty squabbles of a subordinate court-room. Or perchance, they might recount, how they and their confederates, alien alike to the sentiments of the Founder of Pennsylvania, as to the blood and traditions of our Revolutionary sires, did staunchly oppose and attempt to thwart the dedication of this very room as a Museum of memorials of patriotic and noble deeds. But they perform the required functions, *locum tenentes*, — *et tenentes concilium* — their very existence ignored, even while yet visible to the eye.

Under the Constitution of Pennsylvania of 1776, 47th section, a provision was made for a Council, to be elected every seven years, whose duty it was after organization to investigate, whether the Constitution in all its parts had been preserved inviolate, and with power to call a convention to *revise* the same, if in their estimation desirable.

This body was termed the "Council of Censors." It met for the first and only time, November 10, 1783, though without a quorum until the 13th. Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg was elected its President, and among its members were Thomas Fitzsimons, Arthur St. Clair, Anthony Wayne, William Irvine, and William Findley.

It unquestionably convened at the State House, but whether in Independence Chamber, then recently vacated by the Congress, or in the Eastern room of the second story, cannot now be told. It sat until January 21, 1784, then adjourned to June 1, and remained in session until 25th September following. It specifically, and with much ability, pointed out various infringements of the Constitution, and of the Bill of Rights, and, by a vote of a *majority*, resolved that the Constitution

was defective in various particulars, and recommended changes to correspond : —

That the Executive, consisting of President and Council, should be superseded by a Governor alone ;

That the legislative authority should be vested in two bodies instead of one ;

THAT THE JUDICIARY, SUPREME AS WELL AS SUBORDINATE, SHOULD BE APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR, DURING GOOD BEHAVIOR ;

Recommendations which, apparently futile at the time (since a two thirds vote was needed), were afterwards and remain now engrafted upon the organic law, except *the last*, which, under the existing practice, demands the remedy, then pointed out, even more than did the state of affairs under the Constitution of 1776, since under that, the judges were dependent every seven years, the period of their election, upon those who were themselves selected by their fellow citizens as the most virtuous and most competent for the trust. To-day they are dependent from first to last upon the dregs of the people, irresponsible except to the ward politician.

MAY GOD SAVE THE COMMONWEALTH !

But Independence Chamber was now, in 1787, again put to national use, and by a body of men as distinguished as any that had ever occupied it, and for purposes scarcely second in importance to the drafting the great Magna Charta.

The Federal Convention to frame a Constitution for the United States of America met here May 14, 1787, remaining in session till September 17, 1787.

Its roll of members is its eulogy ; its results are *of course* known verbatim by every school-boy, as well as by every individual over twenty-one, black or white, foreign or native to the soil, as a preliminary to the exercises of voting for President of the United States, or for a School Director.

The chair which Peyton Randolph had occupied, when Thomas Johnson of Maryland nominated George Washington to be commander-in-chief of the American armies, — the chair which John Hancock had occupied, when he attached his official signature as President to the proclamation for liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof, — still remained in its accustomed position, and now, on

the 14th day of May, 1787, that man who had been the chief instrument in perfecting the plans initiated in this room, who had proved himself "first in war," was called to occupy, as President of this Convention, that identical chair, and to make it the stepping-stone to the "first in peace."

Many members of the old Continental Congress resumed their seats in this chamber. Several of them had debated the question of separation from Great Britain and signed the Declaration of Independence. They now returned to complete their work, and "to secure the blessings of Liberty to themselves and to their posterity."

The members who attended were —

For New Hampshire.

*JOHN LANGDON.

*NICHOLAS GILMAN.

For Massachusetts.

ELBRIDGE GERRY.

*NATHANIEL GORHAM.

*RUFUS KING.

CALEB STRONG.

For Connecticut.

*WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

*ROGER SHERMAN.

For New York.

ROBERT YATES.

JOHN LANSING.

*ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

For New Jersey.

*WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

*WILLIAM PATERSON.

*DAVID BREARLEY.

*JONATHAN DAYTON.

WILLIAM C. HOUSTON.

For Pennsylvania.

*BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

*THOMAS FITZSIMONS.

*THOMAS MIFFLIN.

*JARED INGERSOLL.

*ROBERT MORRIS.

*JAMES WILSON.

*GEORGE CLYMER.

*GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

For Delaware.

*GEORGE READ.

*RICHARD BASSETT.

*GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.

*JACOB BROOM.

*JOHN DICKINSON.

For Maryland.

*JAMES MCHENRY.
 *DANIEL CARROLL.
 LUTHER MARTIN.

JOHN FRANCIS MERCER.
 *DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS
 JENIFER.

For Virginia.

*GEORGE WASHINGTON.
 EDMUND RANDOLPH.
 *JOHN BLAIR.
 GEORGE MASON.

GEORGE WYTHE.
 *JAMES MADISON, JR.
 JAMES MCCLURG.

For North Carolina.

ALEXANDER MARTIN.
 WILLIAM R. DAVIE.
 *WILLIAM BLOUNT.

*HUGH WILLIAMSON.
 *RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT.

For South Carolina.

*JOHN RUTLEDGE.
 *CHARLES C. PINCKNEY.

*CHARLES PINCKNEY.
 *PIERCE BUTLER.

For Georgia.

*WILLIAM FEW.
 *ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

WILLIAM PIERCE.
 WILLIAM HOUSTOUN.¹

After the final action, and engrossing of the Constitution, those members of the Convention who were present and approved, advanced by States, and affixed their signatures to the instrument.²

In Independence Chamber, also met the *State* Convention, to take action upon the proposed Constitution for the United States. This was on 20th November following. On 13th December a resolution to ratify the same was passed.

¹ Mr. Madison relates an anecdote of Dr. Franklin, at the time the last members of the Convention were signing the engrossed copy of the Constitution, after its adoption by the body. The chair therein referred to is high in the back and is surmounted by a carved effigy, duly gilt, of a sun with attendant rays. Turning to a fellow member he observed, "Painters have always found it difficult to distinguish in their art a *rising* from a *setting* sun. I have often and often in the course of this session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears, as to its issue, looked at that, behind the President, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now at length, I have the happiness to know, that it is a rising, and not a setting sun."

² Their names in the above list are preceded by asterisks.

The voices of Madison, of Mason, of Wilson, and of Hamilton had scarcely died away, when these walls again echoed with debates over the same subject, in a different form. The Constitution of Pennsylvania had accomplished its purpose, and the people demanded a new one for existing needs, and one more in consonance with the new Constitution of the United States.

Responsive to their call, the convention to frame a Constitution for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania met in the Eastern chamber November 24, 1789.¹

Thomas Mifflin was made its President, and among the members were James Wilson, Thomas McKean, Edward Hand, William Irvine, and Timothy Pickering, who had already achieved a national reputation, and also William Lewis, James Ross, William Findley, and Albert Gallatin, who were destined to fame. The subsequent Governors Hiester and Snyder were also members.

This Convention, after an intermission from February 26th to August 9th, during which the proposed Constitution was published for the information of the people, adjourned finally September 2d, 1790.

Upon the adoption of the State Constitution of 1790, providing for two distinct branches of the Legislature, it would appear that the Senate and the House of Representatives took possession respectively of the Eastern and Western chambers, on the first floor, and here they remained till the abandonment of Philadelphia as the Capital of the State.

Pennsylvania very promptly followed — as we shall see in the History of Congress Hall at the corner of Sixth Street — the tactics of the Federal authorities, not only in abandoning Philadelphia, but in adopting a “temporary” as well as a “permanent Capital.”

The Legislature, as early as March, 1787, had indeed discovered, and so resolved, that the major part of the good citizens of the Commonwealth were subject to great inconvenience and unequal burdens in

¹ The early part of the month preceding witnessed an event that must also be noted among the occurrences of importance under this roof — the First General Convention of the (United) Protestant Episcopal Church met in the Assembly Room, by the consent of the President of the State, for eight days, and during their session here occurred the union of the churches of New England with those of the Middle and Southern States, the House of Bishops as a separate house was formed, the first President Bishop — Seabury — elected, the Constitution of the Church agreed upon, and signed, and the Prayer-book in its present form adopted. “No more important convention of the American Church ever assembled,” says Rev. William Stevens Perry, the present Secretary; and see also Perry’s Reprint of Journals, and Perry’s *Handbook of the General Convention*.

consequence of the unfortunate location of the seat of government "at the eastern extremity of the State, at the distance of near four hundred miles from the western boundary thereof," wherefore they determined to erect a State House, for the accommodation of the Executive and General Assembly, and on the lot of land in the town of Harrisburg, the property of the Commonwealth.

In April, 1799, an act was passed providing for the temporary removal of the seat of government to the borough of Lancaster, prohibiting, after the first Tuesday in November then next ensuing, the exercise *elsewhere* of any office connected with the Government. Lancaster was also fixed as the place of meeting of the following session of the Legislature, and there to continue till the establishment of the permanent seat of government.

Thus the chambers hitherto occupied by the National and by the State Legislatures were vacated, after the spring of 1799 (April 11th), and were permitted to lie fallow till 1802, when Charles Wilson Peale made a successful application to the Legislature for the building, for the reception of his Museum.

Independence Chamber, with the whole of the second floor, were given up for this purpose, but at the request of the Supreme Court of the State, which seems never to have been suitably accommodated since the breaking out of the war, the former, the Eastern room, was fitted up for their session, and now all the old chairs of members and other furniture, not taken away by the Legislature,¹ were sold or given away as relics to the different families then residing in Philadelphia.²

THE BANQUETING HALL.

Before the identity of the Banqueting Hall is merged in "the long room of the Philadelphia Museum," it behooves us to recall a few of its earlier associations, for it played no unimportant part in the history of the times.

Among other recognized obligations of a provincial government was that of giving state banquets on fitting public occasions. To meet this requirement Mr. Hamilton had thrown the whole of the front, of the second floor, into one long room; this, with one ante-chamber,

¹ The President's chair, the table, and the inkstand, together with two ordinary chairs raised on stilts, for the Sergeant-at-arms, and some others, were retained and carried to Lancaster, and thence to Harrisburg, by the Legislature.

² Thus after a dispersion of *seventy* years, they are, one by one, so far as preserved and identified, secured and replaced in this chamber. "The adventures of the chairs of the Congress of 1776" might fill as many volumes as did those "Of a Guinea" some hundred years ago.

constituted the Colonial Banqueting Hall. Very frequently the Council Chamber, on the opposite side of the hall, and communicating also with the Long Room, was brought into requisition. In these were marked the advent of a new Governor, the arrival in the Province of any of the Proprietary family; here was celebrated, by the loyal citizens of Philadelphia, the King's birthday; and here were entertained, generally, distinguished visitors whenever policy demanded such hospitality.

Its first use, as has been seen already, was on the occasion of the completion of the State House, when William Allen, as Mayor, entertained his fellow-citizens, — the grand "raising frolic."

Upon the birthday of George II., in 1752, the Governor, a son of Andrew Hamilton, not only gave a handsome entertainment at his mansion at "Bush-hill;" but in the evening a supper and "a brilliant grand ball" at the State House; all three chambers were brilliantly lighted, as well as the fine stairway and hall leading thereto. "One hundred ladies and a much greater number of gentlemen formed," says a contemporary, "the most brilliant assembly that had ever been seen in this Province. The whole company were elegantly entertained by His Honor at supper in the long gallery, and everything conducted with the greatest decorum."

Here, too, the succeeding Governor, Robert Hunter Morris, held a levée, and rivaled Governor Hamilton in the elegance of "a supper in the long gallery," and the brilliancy of the guests.

Governor William Denny was here feasted by the Assembly in August, 1756. The civil and military, as well as the clergy, were in attendance; while in March of the same year, the city officials entertained Lord Loudoun, on the occasion of his visit to Philadelphia, as commander-in-chief of the royal troops in America. In the following year, General Forbes was also feasted at the State House.

"The Birthday" balls were frequent during the years preceeding the Revolutionary War.

When the Assembly entertained an incoming Governor, they ordered the clerk "to speak to some suitable person to provide a handsome dinner," designating the day in the "quaker style," and directed to be invited thereto, besides the present (and generally the late) Governor, the mayor and corporation, the officers, civil and military, the clergy, and the strangers in the city. John and Richard Penn frequently were feasted here. "The Merchants," and "the City Authorities," as well as the State were permitted to use the Banqueting Hall.

On 21st May, 1766, besides other demonstrations of joy, a grand entertainment took place at the State House to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act. It was given by the principal inhabitants, and attended by "his Honor the Governor and the Officers of the Government, the Military, Captain Hawker, of His Majesty's Ship *Sardine*, which 'had been brought before the town and gaily decorated,' and the other gentlemen of the navy and all strangers in the city." The worshipful the Mayor presided, assisted by some of the Aldermen. Three hundred plates were laid; "the whole was conducted with the greatest elegance and decorum, so that detraction itself must be silent on the occasion."

After dinner, toasts were drank to the King, the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and Royal family, even the House of Lords, the Commons, and the Ministry; each specifically received the honors, while "the glorious and immortal Mr. Pitt," and "that lover and supporter of justice Lord Camden," were treated to a bumper. "America's friends, generally" and by name, "the Virginia Assembly"; "Daniel Dulany" winding up with the "Liberty of the Press in America." The cannon belonging to the Province had been placed in the yard, and gave the royal salute after the drinking to the King, and seven guns after every other toast. The evening was enlivened by bonfires; beer, *ad libitum*, to the populace;—the Liberty Bell pealed forth its gratulations. Before the company dispersed in the Banqueting Hall, they passed a resolution, in order to demonstrate their affection to Great Britain, and their gratitude for the repeal, that each would, on the approaching 4th June, "the birthday of our most gracious Sovereign George III., dress ourselves in a new suit of the manufactures of England, and give what *homespun* we have to the poor."

Probably the last and certainly the most significant of all the banquets, was that given to the members of the First Continental Congress in September, 1774.

"On Friday last," says Bradford's "Journal" of September 21, "the Honorable Delegates, now met in General Congress, were elegantly entertained by the gentlemen of this city. Having met at the City Tavern about three o'clock, they were conducted from thence to the State House by the managers of the entertainment, where they were received by a very large company, composed of the Clergy, such genteel strangers as happened to be in town, and a number of respectable citizens, making in the whole near five hundred. After dinner, toasts were drank, accompanied by music and a discharge of cannon." These showed, even yet, no diminution of loyalty. "The

King," "The Queen," "The Duke of Gloucester," "The Prince of Wales and Royal Family," "*Perpetual union to the Colonies*," "May the Colonies faithfully execute what the Congress shall wisely resolve," "*The much injured town of Boston and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*," "May Great Britain be just and America free," "No unconstitutional standing armies," "May the cloud which hangs over Great Britain and the Colonies burst only on the heads of the present Ministry," "May every American hand down to posterity, pure and untainted, the liberty he has derived from his ancestors," "May no man enjoy freedom who has not spirit to defend it," "May the persecuted genius of Liberty find a lasting asylum in America," "May British swords never be drawn in defence of tyranny," "The arts and manufactures of America," "Confusion to the authors of the Canada Bill," "The liberty of the press," "A happy reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies, on a constitutional ground," "The virtuous few in both Houses of Parliament," "The City of London," "*Lord Chatham*," "*Lord Camden*," "Marquis of Rockingham," "Mr. Burke," "General Conway," and some others, concluding with "Dr. Franklin," and "Mr. Hancock."

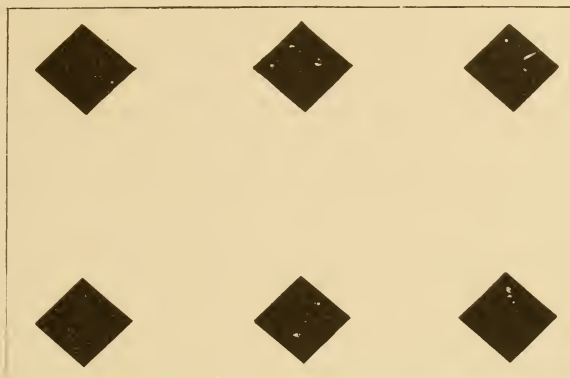
"The acclamations with which several of them were received, not only testified the sense of the honor conferred by such worthy guests, but the fullest confidence in their wisdom and integrity, and a firm resolution to adopt and support such measures as they shall direct for the public good at this alarming crisis."

Thus Independence Hall shares with Carpenters' Hall, even its association with the Pioneers of the Union.

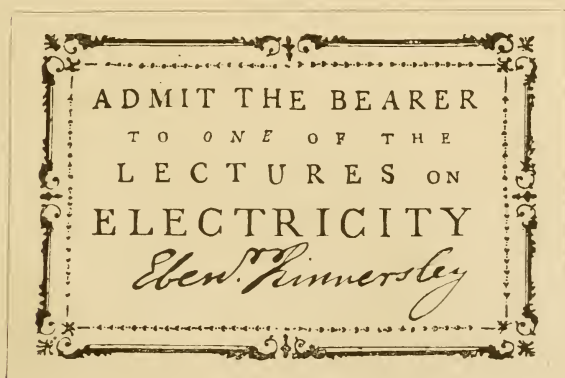
THE UNION OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIES
SUGGESTED BY
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
AT THE CONGRESS IN ALBANY IN 1754
FOSTERED BY MASSACHUSETTS IN 1765
DEVELOPED AT CARPENTERS HALL
IN 1774
WAS IN THIS BUILDING EFFECTED IN 1776
AND MADE MORE PERFECT,
SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

Among the reminiscences of the early years of Independence Hall that came thronging upon us, though thrust aside from their chron-

ological order by historical events, there are some which demand recognition.



REVERSE.



TICKET OF ADMISSION.

To the practical telegrapher of 1876, more especially to those who have (though in different form) accomplished the transmission of electrical messages through thousands of miles of water, it cannot fail to be interesting to find that some, if not the very earliest, experiments on this subject were exhibited, and explained, at the State House.

While Franklin was the medium of communication through Peter Collinson, with the Royal Society, and thus throughout Europe of the

celebrated "Philadelphia experiments," in electricity, his co-laborer in the work, Ebenezer Kinnersley, gave, in one of the chambers of the State House, his lectures on "the Electrical Fire," its properties, characteristics, and in some respects adaptations.¹

This course of lectures commenced September 21st, 1752; they were advertised in "The Pennsylvania Gazette," and the hope expressed that they will be thought worthy of regard and encouragement "as the knowledge of human nature tends to enlarge the human mind, and give us more noble and more grand and exalted ideas of the author of nature, and if well pursued, *seldom fails producing something useful to man.*"

Among the most interesting of the expositions it was shown: —

That the electrical fire is an extremely subtle fluid.

That it does not take any perceptible time in passing through large portions of space.

That this fire will live in water, a river not being sufficient to quench the smallest spark of it.

Dr. Kinnersley discharged a battery of eleven guns by a spark after it had passed through ten feet of water.

He showed that this fire was the same with lightning, and he also exhibited the method by which houses could be secured against the latter.

From Independence Hall Dr. Kinnersley, by a singular coincidence, went to Faneuil Hall, and there, thirty-nine years before the birth of Samuel F. B. Morse, explained some of the mysteries of that power utilized by the latter, and almost within ear-shot of the very house where Professor Morse first saw the light.

Our Building is not exempt from association with the primitive owners of the soil. Here, in the Council Chamber, at least one grand

¹ Franklin, Kinnersley, Philip Syng, the scientific silversmith (the same who made the silver inkstand used in signing the Declaration of Independence), and Thomas Hopkinson, formed this junta. It was Mr. Hopkinson who discovered the power of metallic points in drawing off and diffusing the fluid, a discovery utilized by Franklin in his lightning rod. An admirable address on Dr. Kinnersley by Mr. Horatio Gates Jones, of Philadelphia, is yet in MS.

Phil Syng

Tho: Hopkinson



THE TREATY ELM.

"talk" with the Indians was held by the President and Council, at the close of September, 1771. Chiefs of the Cayugas, of the Delawares and Shawanese, Tuscaroras and Mohicans, were present. They came upon a friendly visit to confirm the lands that "we gave to the Proprietor Onas, [William Penn] and to no other person, and we not only gave Wyoming to him, but a great space of land round about it except the place where the Indians live."

Though eighty-nine years had elapsed, these "savages" had not forgotten the Treaty of Shackamaxon, under the great Elm "remembering," say they, "that there was an old road between us and our Brethren at Philadelphia [Shackamaxon], in the very beginning of Time, we sat out with some of our people and found the old road, and travelled safe in it to this city, and we are glad to find the old Council Fire, which was kindled by our Fathers, is still burning bright and clear as it used to be, and that we see our Brethren—our Fathers and your Fathers were in close Friendship. Here they presented a string of wampum of three rows—they held fast the covenant chain and strengthened it—one held it fast at one end and the other at the other end, but there were always some bad people who wanted to break the chain, but they never have been able to do it. Both you and we have held it fast," etc.

Deputations from the different Indian tribes had been frequently sent to treat with the State Government, and to receive the usual "condolences" upon deaths of their sachems. They were entertained generally in "the yard" at the public expense, and previous to the summer of 1759 were lodged in one of the wings of the State House.

Apprehensive of fire from carelessness on their part, directions were given by the Assembly to erect a small house adjoining for their use. It is supposed that this gave rise to the construction and use of the two long low sheds at the ends of the Building, which are shown in Peale's picture of the Hall, as it stood in 1778, and which during the Revolution were used for artillery and general munitions of war.

Few alterations or repairs were made to the State House from the time of its completion to the termination of the Revolution. The steeple in which the Bell had been placed was of wood, and surmounted "the Tower" so-called. As early as 1771, Rev. Mr. Duché in his "Caspipina's Letters," tells us that the architecture of the steeple was considered so miserable that it was determined "to let it go to decay," in order to its better replacement. In 1773, a skillful carpenter was employed to view and report on its state; and the Assembly in the following year considered the expediency, and indeed gave

the order, "that it should be taken down and the brick work cheaply covered to prevent its being damaged by weather." This order has given rise to the error of Mr. Watson, the annalist, and generally those who have since depicted the State House in 1776 have adopted his statement, inferring "what ought to be done, has been done" — but such was not the fact. Estimates were actually submitted in March, 1775; it was then proposed to place a cupola upon the front building, but the subject was "referred for further consideration to the next sitting of the House." The Continental Congress met only a short time afterwards within its precincts; this circumstance, together with the pressure of the stirring events preceding the War of Independence, rendered further action impossible at the time.

In April, 1781, the condition of the steeple was considered absolutely dangerous, and was then, and *not until then*, pursuant to the peremptory order of the Assembly, taken down.

"The heavy fraim whereon the Bell used to hang" was lowered into the brick tower, and the old Liberty Bell was now again suspended from its beam; the three windows of the otherwise close room were fitted with sounding-boards in order to give full effect to its tones, for alarms, rejoicings, etc. The Tower was plainly though effectually covered for the preservation of the building, and was surmounted by a slender spire or point. Immediately in front of the spire on the main roof, a second bell, called the "clock bell," and sometimes confounded with the Liberty Bell, was suspended with a slight covering or shed built over it, as is seen in Birch's "Familiar Views of the State House." The Bill for this work is also extant, and may interest the curious: —

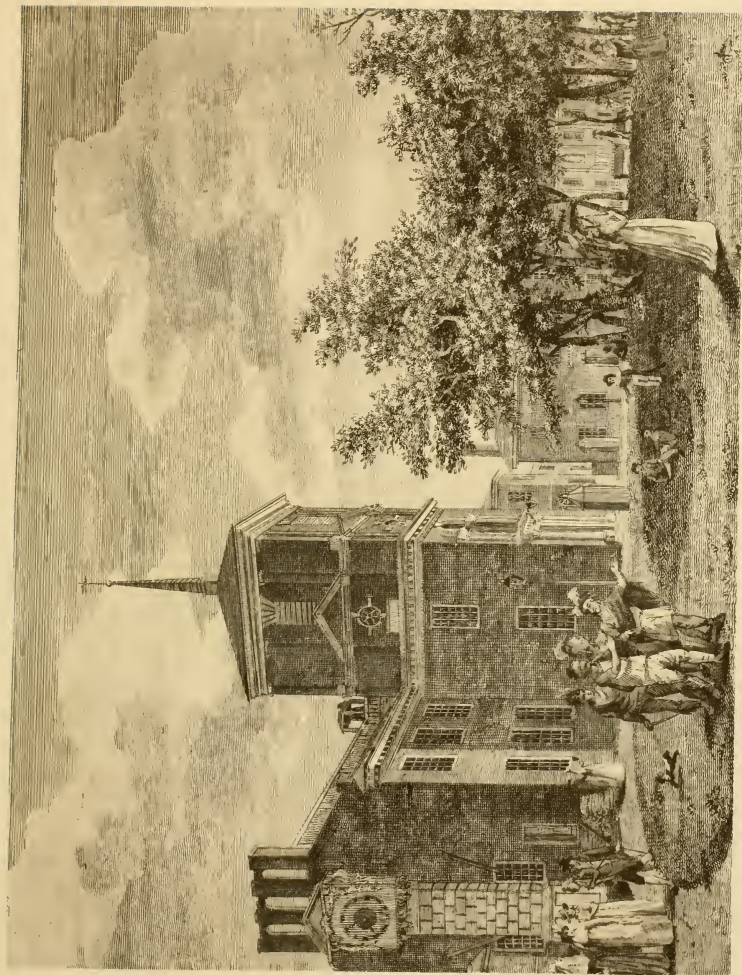
Mr. Thomas Nevell,
for the State House. 1781,

TO JOHN COBURN, DR.

July 16. — To sundry hands getting down the Old Steeple, and	
getting up the new one, getting up the Bell, and fixing of	
it,	£12 00 00
To the two falls and blocks and Crab getting the Old	
Steeple down and the new up, and the Bell,	8 00 00
	<hr/> £20 00 00

NOTE. — This is the Rigger's bill against Nevell the Carpenter.

In September, 1784, important repairs were needed for the protection of the building. These are specified in the Report of the Committee, and are entirely immaterial, so far as the general appearance is concerned. The sidewalk had not been entirely paved, but was in



THE OLD STATE HOUSE, 1781—1813.

REAR VIEW.

turf, except apparently the then usual "pebble-stone" footway of semi-circular form leading up to, and from, the steps. These stones seem to have been taken up about 1784 or 1785, and a brick side-walk parallel with the street, nine feet in width, was constructed; the intervening space was *graveled*. It so remained for some time after the commencement of the present century.

No trees then ornamented the front, but a pump for "the convenience of the public," and for protection from fire, in connection with the leather fire-bucket — one hundred of which were ordered to be supplied and which were kept constantly on hand — was placed in front of each arcade.

It was at one time deemed desirable to open a street through to Market, immediately opposite the State House, and a Committee was appointed by the Assembly, March 19, 1772, to confer with the owners of the lots, to ascertain "if the same may be had at a reasonable price and make report."



INN OPPOSITE THE STATE HOUSE.

The plan was never acted upon. It does not appear that any report ever was made upon the subject.

"THE WINGS."

Of late years a notion has crept into, and taken possession of, the public mind that the State House stood *alone*, and that the present wings

are mere innovations. This is by no means the fact. What is now called "the row" covers nearly the same ground, and is not essentially different from the originals, which were erected and appropriated for the reception of the Records and Public Papers of the Province. According to the primitive practice of the times, these, in custody of the officers, had always been kept at the respective residences of the latter. The public exigencies, however, as early as 1735, seemed to demand a change in this respect, to meet the convenience of the community. This induced the planning, and prompt completion of, the eastern wing of the State House. It was a low two-story structure of brick, of about the same depth as the main building, and at a distance therefrom of about thirty feet, though connected with it by an arcade on Chestnut Street, shut in, in the rear, by a blank wall. Within the arcade was constructed a stairway, which led to the single large chamber of the second story of "the wing," its only means of access. The lower floor was divided into two rooms, which were assigned respectively to the Register General (the custodian of the original wills made in the then County of Philadelphia) and to the Recorder of Deeds.

Much opposition was made, by both these officers, to taking possession of these quarters. The former protested that his papers and records were more secure against embezzlement and fire, where he kept them in his private residence, than they could possibly be in the public building designed for them. He also "considered it a hardship to attend at certain hours at the State House." The Recorder of Deeds, whose important functions — unknown to the English practice — had been carried on since the first settlement, protested, in yielding to the requirement, that he would not be responsible for the Records if the removal were insisted upon, and asked in such case to be permitted, at least, to retain at his residence each volume until its completion.

These gentlemen, however, were summarily required to take possession of the offices assigned.

The "western wing" corresponding with that on the east seems to have been finished three years later, — in 1739. Its lower chamber or chambers (for it is uncertain whether it consisted of two rooms) was accorded to the Secretary of the Province, and was occupied continuously by that officer down to the summer of 1779, when application was made by the Board of War, through Lewis Nicola, for the use of the second floor for the accommodation of twelve or fifteen Indians then daily expected. This second floor was granted in October, 1739, upon their application, to the Philadelphia Library Company, "to deposit their books in." The Library was continued here until 1773;

when it was transferred to the Carpenters' Hall, just in time for the convenient use of the Congress in the following year.

It would appear that the flags captured during the Revolution were herein displayed and that this chamber, and certainly a corresponding chamber in the eastern wing, was used as a Committee room for the Assembly and for Congress.¹ Charles Thomson, the "permanent Secretary" of the latter, also had here his private office.

Shortly after Congress left Philadelphia, the upper chamber of the western wing was occupied by the Supreme Court of the State,² and some efforts were made in 1786, to make it conform to the convenience and dignity of the Court. The State arms were painted and placed over the chair of the Chief Justice, "partitions put up" in the chamber, and a new "stove placed therein."

It was the custom for the doorkeeper of the Assembly in Colonial days to occupy the attic of the *western* wing. The product of "the Yard" was his perquisite. We find one Joseph Fry, the incumbent in 1788, prying to be exonerated from the payment to the State of one hundred and ninety-five pounds, with which he was charged for arrears of rent. Apparently he kept a cow "to consume the herbage of the State-House yard."

At the close of the Revolution, while pensions were provided by the State for officers, soldiers, and seamen of the Continental Army, of the Pennsylvania line, wounded, maimed, or disabled so as to prevent their obtaining a livelihood, a *corps of invalids* was formed, to guard public property and offices, and among others the State House and adjoining buildings. This corps was ordered, in March, 1789, to be disbanded, and the Supreme Executive Council was authorized to employ a requisite number of watchmen, under the civil establishment of the city, to guard the public buildings.

State House Yard, or Independence Square, as it is now dubbed, only extended, at first, from Fifth to Sixth streets, and, back from Chestnut, three hundred and thirty-seven feet, or rather more than

¹ The "Basto," of the Proprietary, Thomas Penn, presented to the Province by his wife in 1773, though all trace of it seems lost, was most likely placed in the "Committee room at east end of State House," where the State House deeds were from time to time ordered to be deposited in "the chest;" and where, also, John Hughes was also directed to place his Record Books, etc., etc.

² The *locus site* of the Supreme Court during the Revolutionary War, after April, 1776,—its last sitting in its own chamber, and its last session as "the Provincial Supreme Court,"—cannot be determined. Mr. Fletcher, the present probonotary, has sought for the minute books of the period in vain.

one half the distance toward Walnut. It appears that a single tree was then upon the premises, which were inclosed by a high brick wall.

The whole Square originally had been cut up into convenient lots. The Chestnut Street front, 255 feet deep, was divided off into eight lots forty-nine and a half feet front each, and, with the exception of the westernmost (at corner of Sixth Street), still "vacant," had been all granted by Penn, in 1683, to private individuals, in order, from Fifth Street.

Edward Jones,
John Roberts.
John German,
John Oliver,

Peter Edwards,
David Kinsey,
Richard Miles.
Vacant.

While the front on Walnut Street had been granted to —

John Evans,
David James,
Samuel Miles,
Vacant.

Vacant.
David Powell,
Wm. Davis, in right of Thos. Jones.
David Powell.

The last named having been granted as late as 1715, the others in the years 1683, 1684, and 1692.

The original purchases by William Allen, at the instance of Andrew Hamilton, and by Mr. Hamilton himself, covered the whole Chestnut Street front, (the title to which passed through intermediate purchasers,) and just sufficient in addition — 82 feet by 148½ on Fifth, and the same on Sixth Street — to justify his requirement that a session should be made to the city and county out of the Chestnut Street front of lots, upon which to build their respective Halls.

The legal title of the Province to the property had not been perfected in 1762. On the third of February of this year the existing deeds were brought in and delivered to the House; they were ordered to be kept in the Committee Room. The chain of title not being complete, however, an act was passed divesting all the interest of Andrew Hamilton and William Allen and their heirs, and vesting it in Isaac Norris, the then Speaker, Thomas Leech, Joseph Fox, Samuel Rhoads, Joseph Galloway, John Baynton, Edward Penington, Esquires, as Trustees for the Province. A proviso was added, and it was declared "to be the true intent and meaning hereof that no part of said ground lying to the southward of the State House, within the wall as it is now built, be made use of for erecting any sort of buildings thereon, but that the same shall be and remain a public green and walk forever." This act was passed upon 17th February, 1762. A committee who had been appointed to treat with the owners of the lots, lying to the southward of the State House, in order to their purchase by the Prov-

ince, having also reported favorably as to inclination of owners, etc., that they would sell, at such price as the lots might be valued by indifferent persons, an act was procured on fourteenth of May following. It made an appropriation of five thousand pounds, and required the trustees to purchase the residue of the Square on Walnut Street "to and for the same uses, intents, and purposes to which the said House and its appurtenances are appropriated." These final purchases were perfected by the spring of 1769 and deeds duly executed to the trustees, and thus the Province became possessed of the whole Square. A brick wall, seven feet high, was at once (in 1770) constructed around the whole premises, with an immense gateway and wooden door on Walnut Street, in the middle of that front. It is believed that there was no other entrance save from the buildings themselves.

After the Province of Pennsylvania became a free State, under the new Constitution, it was considered expedient to vest the title to all the real estate of the former in the Commonwealth by statute. This was accordingly done by act of the 28th February, 1780. Samuel Rhoads and Edward Penington were then the only surviving trustees, except Joseph Galloway, who had forfeited his trusts by treason, and whose title to his own former residence on "High, Minor and Sixth Streets" ¹ was included in the same act. This latter provided that the State House with its adjoining-lot, etc., etc., with all the other real estate belonging to "the good people of this Commonwealth or of any county thereof in their public and collective capacity belonging or to their use or interest vested and conveyed, shall be, and hereby are, vested in the Commonwealth, freed and discharged and absolutely acquitted, exempted and exonerated of, from, and against, all claims and demands of the said Feoffees or Trustees, . . . subject, however, to the several uses, intents, trusts, dispositions, and direction for which the same have been heretofore respectively appointed and limited, and to none other."

Just before the troubles with Great Britain commenced it had been ordered that the Superintendents "prepare a plan for laying out the Square, behind the State House, in proper walks, and to be planted with suitable trees, etc., and that the plan should be submitted to the Assembly, but, apparently, no further steps were then taken to this end, and, indeed, no practical measures, before or during the Revolu-

¹ See page 82 for representation of the State House Yard at this time and as it continued till 1873.

² This residence had been appropriated by statute and "appointed for the use of the President of the Supreme Executive Council" of the State.

tion, seem to have been taken. Had any been attempted, they would have been rendered abortive, by the immense public meetings for patriotic purposes which, as we have seen, were so frequent during the early days of the Revolutionary War.

The peace of 1783 afforded the citizens leisure for internal improvement as well as for the encouragement of scientific research. The State House Square presented scope for both. In September of this year President John Dickinson invites the attention of the Assembly to the condition of the State House lot, and urges the execution of the law, as "the laying out the ground according to the original design would be reputable to the State, particularly useful to the inhabitants of this city and agreeable to strangers."

No evidences of any active measures to effect this appear till February 28, 1785, when a few trees were planted. Mr. Samuel Vaughan, a public-spirited citizen of the day, is said to have taken much interest in the improvement of the Square. Through him Mr. George Morgan, of Princeton, N. Y., presented one hundred elm trees in April, 1785; these, with possibly one exception, are the oldest trees upon the square.

"Public walks" were now laid out, and it commenced to be called "the State House Garden" and was a place of fashionable resort. In 1791 it was thought that it would contribute to its embellishment as well as "conduce to the health of the citizens, by admitting a freer circulation of air, if the east and west walls were lowered, and palisadoes placed thereon." The city of Philadelphia was therefore allowed by the State, at its own expense, to reduce the brick wall to three feet, and to place upon it "an iron railing fixed into a stone capping along the length of Fifth and Sixth streets." The wall on Walnut Street, however, still remained as originally built, till 1813, when that also was lowered to correspond. A very handsome iron gate flanked by substantial marble posts, the latter surmounted by lamps, now replaced the cumbersome folding doors.¹

¹ The cost of removing the wall of the State House Yard, and erecting the iron railing, has been preserved by Mr. Hazard.

EAST AND WEST WALLS.

Taking down the wall, preparing foundation and materials	\$310.36
Bar iron and castings	1,447.93
Lead	147.50
Connecting plates, rivets, and smith work	462.70
Marble coping	1,671.01
Gates	132.15
Painting two coats	88.00
	<hr/>
	\$4,258.75

In giving its sanction to these changes, the State was careful to express a reservation of all right, title, and interest in, and to, the Square.

Permission was also granted in this year, 1812, to the County Commissioners to alter the wings of the State House, for the current needs of the city. This was accordingly done in 1813. The arcades and staircases were then removed and two-story structures replaced them, while the buildings next adjacent on both sides were also changed. The base of the old clock at this time was removed, though the clock itself was permitted to remain till 1828.

CONGRESS HALL.

The next portion of the buildings upon "the Square," which claims our attention, is that at the southeast corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets.

The funds to defray these expenses were derived from the following sources:—

Old materials sold	\$411.21
Appropriated by the City Council	1,500.00
Subscriptions by individuals	2,347.54
	<u>\$4,258.75</u>

SOUTH WALL.

Taking down the wall and preparing foundation and materials	\$184.66
Marble coping	914.30
Castings and bar iron	786.63
Smith work, connecting plates, putting up, etc.	271.58
Lead	52.50
Painting	37.75
	<u>\$2,247.42</u>

The funds for which were derived from the following sources:—

Bridge Co.'s debt appropriated by councils	\$500.00
Fines for breach of ordinances by councils	383.94
Appropriated in 1813, by councils	600.00
Subscriptions by individuals	765.48
	<u>\$2,247.42</u>

Total cost exclusive of the southern gate:—

East and West sides	\$4,258.76
South side	2,247.42
	<u>\$6,506.18</u>

	FEET.
Length of railing on the west side exclusive of gateways	397
East side	337.9
South end	391.4
	<u>1126.1</u>

Though actually erected after the Revolution, its plan was almost coeval with that of the State House itself.

In his scheme of public utility, Mr. Hamilton did not restrict himself to the needs of the State alone. In conjunction with his friend, William Allen, he purchased both corner lots on Chestnut Street, adjoining what was appropriated by him to the State House proper, and its appurtenant offices, and in February, 1736, procured the passage of a Resolution of Assembly, resulting in an Act, which authorized and directed him to convey certain lots to designated Trustees, who should hold them in trust for the use of the City and the County of Philadelphia. These lots were each fifty feet on Chestnut, running back seventy-three feet, one at southeast corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets, and the other at southwest corner of Fifth. It was provided in the Resolution referred to, that the buildings to be erected thereupon should be "of the like outward form, structure and dimensions, the one for the use of the County and the other for the use of the City, and to be used for the holding of courts or common halls and not for private buildings." The two corporations were required to refund to the State the proportionate value of these lots, and the buildings were to be erected within twenty years.

When the Act of February 17, 1762, already cited, was passed to perfect the title, these requirements were duly incorporated in its body.

It was not till July, 1764, that an actual conveyance of this property¹ was made to the City and to the County respectively, for the erection of their Public Buildings. Ten years yet elapsed before any action was taken. In February, 1775, a committee was appointed by the Common Council to draw a plan of the building for city uses and to make an estimate of the cost. In order to meet the latter in part, the corporation fund, arising from donations made by former Mayors to the city, was deemed available. A custom had existed down to the year 1741, for the Mayor, on expiration of his term of office, to entertain his constituents at a public banquet. Mr. James Hamilton (the son of Andrew Hamilton), however, disapproving this practice and at the same time desirous of showing his appreciation of the honor paid him by his fellow-citizens, presented for municipal use for the erection of an Exchange, or other public edifice, one hundred and fifty pounds, an example that was followed for many years by his successors. This fund, however, was not yet adequate, nor do the demands for accommodations, for the municipal authorities, seem to have been pressing.

¹ Under the Act of Assembly of February 17, 1762.

No active efforts were made to carry out the design till after the close of the Revolutionary War.

On 18th March, 1785, the Assembly took into consideration, and on 8th April following, finally passed an Act, by which an appropriation of £3,000 was made out of the proceeds of the sale of the "old gaol and work-house" of the County, then ordered to be disposed of, towards the erection of the County Building on the State House Square, and a similar amount to be taken out of the Treasury of the City for the erection of the City or "Common Hall," at the corresponding corner of Fifth and Chestnut. The Act also required the submission of the plans to the President and Council of State, who had recommended the consideration of the subject in December, 1784, "in order that their outward appearance may be alike and uniform."

The seventy-three feet in depth already conveyed proving "insufficient," an additional grant was made by the Legislature on 29th March, 1787, of fifteen feet; it would, however, appear that the "insufficiency" had arisen from placing the Halls further from the curb than was originally intended, in order to widen the side-walk.

In the spring following the County Building was promptly commenced, and apparently finished in February, 1789. We find that on 4th March of that year—the very day upon which the new government of the United States was to go into operation in New York City—a motion was made in the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania by the Representatives of the City and County of Philadelphia, who at the same time stated they were so authorized by their constituents: deferred to the next day, it was then *unanimously* Resolved,—

"That the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, from this State, be authorized to make a respectful offer to Congress of the use of any or all the public buildings in Philadelphia, the property of the State and *of the building lately erected on the State House Square belonging to the City and County of Philadelphia*, in case Congress should at any time incline to make choice of that city for the temporary residence of the federal government."

- In Congress, as early in the session as 15th May, 1789, efforts were made to establish the *permanent* seat of Government of the United States. Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and Delaware, as well as Pennsylvania, competed. The House passed a Resolution in favor of the last mentioned State.

Simultaneously with the passage of a bill to this effect in the House, Robert Morris in the Senate, on 21st September, presented the Resolves

of the Pennsylvania Assembly as already given, tendering the use of the public buildings in Philadelphia. The Senate, however, made some amendments to the House Bill, and on its return to the House, for concurrence, it was postponed till the next session; the subject was then again brought up, at the same time, in the House and in the Senate. In the former, it was determined that "Congress should meet and hold their next session in Philadelphia," but the Senate again refused to concur in the Resolution, and debated, without result, the question of a *permanent* seat of government.

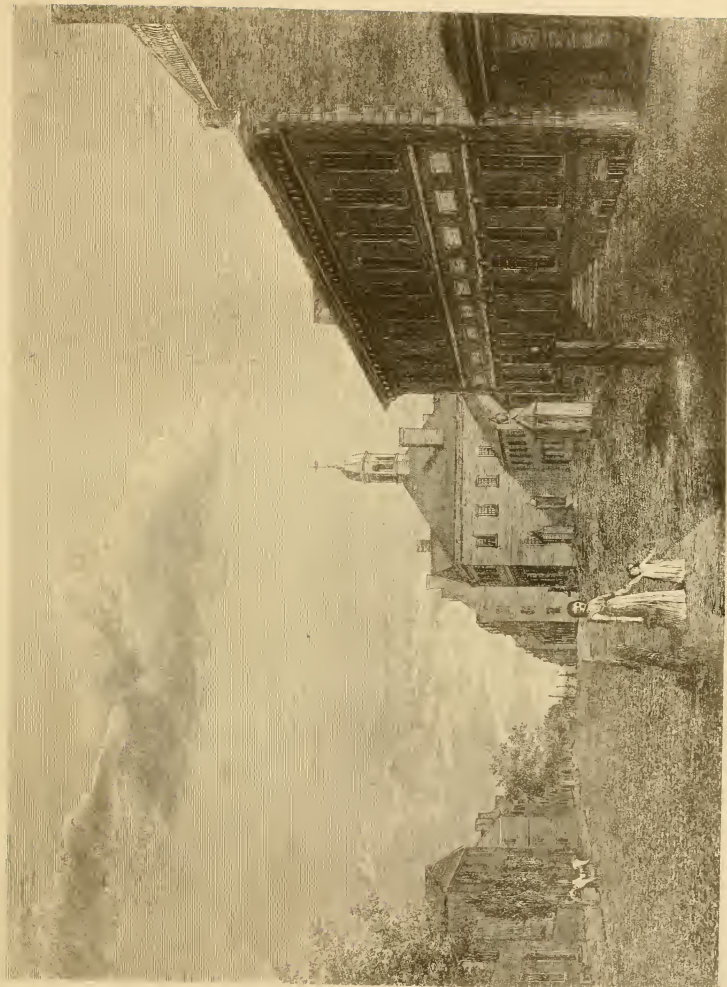
The House then made another effort for a temporary Capitol, substituting Baltimore for Philadelphia; and to this, also, the Senate refused its concurrence, and insisted upon considering the question of a *permanent* Capitol, which they now did by naming the banks of the River Potomac, and fixing the year 1800 as the time for transfer thereto. After considerable debate and discussion of resolutions in every variety of form over Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, the Senate finally agreed to establish their *temporary* residence in Philadelphia. The Bill, received by the House on 20th July, 1790, was attacked by attempted amendments, but was finally passed by a very close vote.

In a letter to his wife, dated New York, July 2, 1790, Mr. Morris himself says:—

"I congratulate you my Dearest Friend upon our success, for at length the Senate has passed a Bill fixing the temporary seat of Congress at Philadelphia for ten years, after which it is to be permanently fixed on the banks of the Potomack (provided the buildings, etc., are ready). The next Session of Congress is to commence on the first day of December next, in Philadelphia.

"This Bill had the third reading and passed in the Senate yesterday fourteen to twelve. This morning it will be sent to the House of Representatives, where it must have three readings and will undergo a fiery trial, but our People are confident that they have a majority which will carry it through, and there is no room to fear the President's consent, so that we have a much better prospect of perfecting this momentous affair to our satisfaction now, than we have had at any time this Session, but I cannot help remembering what happened the last year; we were nearer to our object then, than we are now, and yet we lost it, at the moment when we were most sure.

"The majority in the House of Representatives is so small, that many contingencies may happen to dash the 'Cup from the Lip;' therefore, it is best not to be too sanguine. The Yorkers are cunning and intriguing. They spare no pains to coax and cajole those with whom they think there is the least chance of success. They lay all the blame of this measure on me, and abuse me most unmercifully, both in the Public Prints, private conversations, and



THE OLD STATE HOUSE, 1781—1813.

FRONT VIEW.

even in the streets ; and yesterday I was nearly engaged in a serious quarrel with one of them. — However, I don't mind all they can do, and if I carry the point, I will, like a good Christian, forgive them all.”¹

The Bill received the assent of the President (communicated to the Senate on 16th July), but even then its repeal was attempted. This proved unsuccessful.

The third session of the First Congress met, accordingly, on 6th December, 1790, in the building which was henceforward known as “Congress Hall.”

Shortly after they assembled (on 8th December), the Commissioners of the City and County confirmed the offering that had already been made of the County Court House for the accommodation of the Representatives of the Union *during their residence in the city of Philadelphia* ; and on the next day the Senate ordered the following reply to be addressed to the Commissioners : —

GENTLEMEN : —

The Senate have considered the letter that you were pleased to address to the Senate and House of Representatives on the 6th inst., and they entertain a proper sense of the respect shown to the General Government of the United States by providing so commodious a building as the Commissioners of the City and County of Philadelphia have appropriated for the accommodation of the representatives of the Union, during their residence in this city.

I have the honor to be

Your most humble servant,

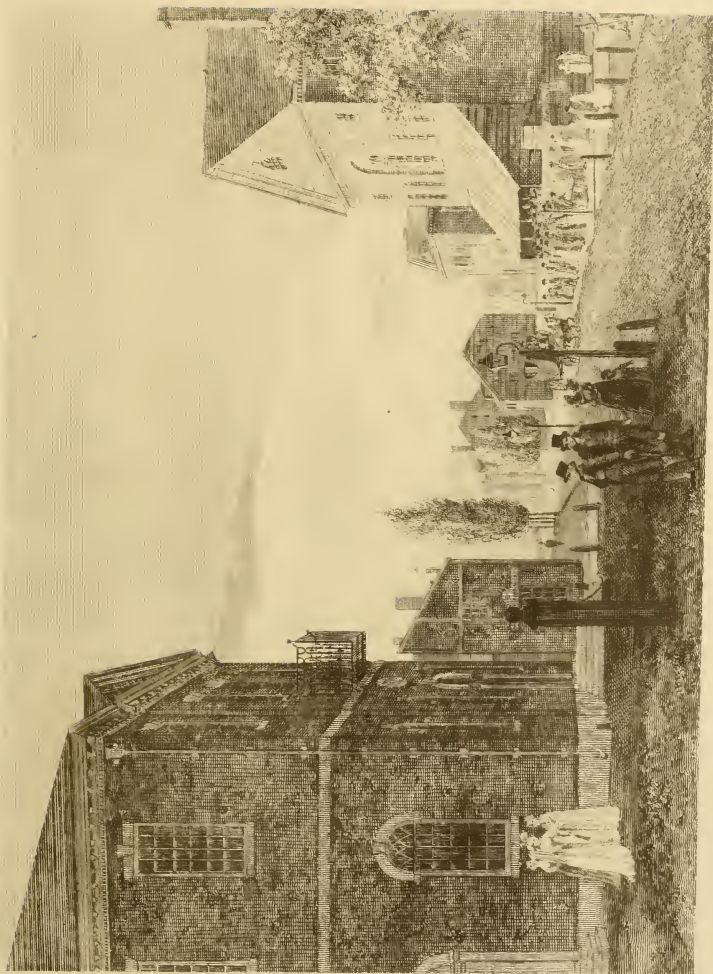
JOHN ADAMS,

*Vice-president of the United States and President of the Senate.*²

A communication from the Commissioners, similar to that to the Senate, was made to the House of Representatives on the 11th December.

¹ In Manuscript from the forthcoming *Life of Robert Morris*, by Charles Henry Hart.

² On 6th December, the State House *might*, possibly, as some have suggested, have been used by Congress ; but as the Pennsylvania Assembly met the next day, the former must have immediately adjourned to take possession of the chambers which had been prepared for them. The only ground for doubt as to their meeting even at the first, in the County Building, proceeds from the letter of the Commissioners given in the text ; but this seems to have been a mere formality to guarantee to government the continuous use of the building, and this view is confirmed by the language of Mr. Adams's letter, *not accepting* (which the actual occupancy would render unnecessary), but simply thanking the constituted authorities for the commodious building appropriated to the representatives, etc., “ *during their residence in this city.*”



CONGRESS HALL.

1799-1800.

Comparatively little had been done while Congress still sat in New York and as they continued to sit in this building till the year 1800, it was here that the essential features of the new government were adopted and the Constitution of the United States practically put in running order.

The Army and Navy were placed upon a creditable footing.

The United States Mint was established.

The celebrated Treaty of Commerce with England, known as "Jay's Treaty," was debated and ratified.

The United States Bank was instituted.

The States of Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee were all admitted into the Union.

While still in Philadelphia, the Government successfully withstood the two great insurrections that threatened, apparently, its overthrow. "Shays' Rebellion" in Massachusetts, and "The Whisky Insurrection" in Pennsylvania; it conducted an Indian war, in which "St. Clair's Defeat" and "Wayne's Success" were crystallized into history; the severest of all the tests to which it was subjected was probably the encountering the hostilities of the staunch friend and ally of America in the Revolution — France, and thence creating the most bitter animosities at home.

It was in this building that the second inauguration¹ of the First President took place, March 4, 1793.

The announcement of the event in the papers of the 5th is thus chronicled: —

"Yesterday, our beloved and venerable George Washington came to the Senate Chamber of Congress, and took the usual oath of office, which was administered to him by Judge Cushing, at noon, in presence of an immense concourse of his fellow citizens, members of both Houses of the Congress of the United States Legislature, and several foreign ministers, consuls, etc. There was likewise an assemblage of ladies attending on this solemn occasion, and the day was extremely serene, for Providence has always smiled on the day of this man and on the glorious cause which he has espoused, of Liberty and Equality.

"After taking the oath, the President retired as he had come, without pomp or ceremony, but on his departure from the House, the people could no longer restrain obeying the genuine dictates of their hearts, they saluted him with three cheers."

In the self-same building, though this time, in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, the Second President of the United States,

¹ The first inauguration, April 30th, 1789, Congress had met and was in session in New York City.

John Adams, assumed his official duties, March 4, 1797. The retiring President, General Washington, greater, if possible, than at any other period of his life, was seated on the right of Mr. Adams, and the Vice President elect, Mr. Jefferson, on his left. Jonathan Dayton was the Speaker of the House at this time, and he occupied the seat of the Clerk, immediately in front of the Speaker's chair. The Chief Justice and the Associate Justices occupied a table in the centre; General Wilkinson, Commander-in-chief of the Army, the Heads of Departments, and many of the principal inhabitants were in attendance.

Previous to taking the oath, Mr. Adams delivered a speech from the Speaker's chair, which probably, for the first time, was issued the *same* afternoon in a postscript to the daily papers. Upon its conclusion, the President descended and took the oath of office; the Chief Justice, Oliver Ellsworth, pronounced the Constitutional Oath with much solemnity, which was repeated in an equally audible and solemn manner. The President then resumed his seat for a moment, rose, bowed to the audience, and retired. He was followed by the Vice President, though not without a contest between him and the outgoing President, with respect to precedence, the former insisting upon the Vice President taking it, and he with great reluctance receiving it.

The papers of the day comment upon the ceremony as "affording high satisfaction and delight to every genuine republican, to behold a fellow citizen, raised by the voice of the people, to be the first Magistrate of a free nation, and to see at the same time him, who lately filled the Presidential chair, retiring by 'voluntary choice,' and, as a private citizen, attending the inauguration of his successor in office. Thus was beautifully exemplified the simplicity and excellence of the Republican system, in opposition to hereditary monarchical governments, where all is conducted by a few powerful individuals, amidst all the pomp, splendor, and magnificence of courts."

Within a year a scene occurred in the House of a very different character and which caused much scandal at the time. It induced the issue of a caricature, "the First Battle in Congress," and a burlesque, styled "The House of Wisdom in a Bustle—a poem descriptive of the noted battle lately fought in C-ng-ss." This was in 1798, January 30. The facts were these: during the sitting of the House of Representatives, though while the Speaker was not actually in the chair, (the tellers being engaged in counting the votes in an impeachment case) but occupying a member's seat on the floor and in conversation with Matthew Lyon of Vermont,—Roger Griswold of Connecticut

approached the party; Mr. Lyon, who was standing outside of the Bar, had just made some remark very disparaging to the Representatives from Connecticut, and evidently intended for their ears, — Mr. Griswold immediately retorted by a taunt suggesting that Mr. Lyon should carry his *wooden sword* into Connecticut, — thus alluding to the fact that Lyon had been cashiered from the army, — whereupon the latter spat in the face of Mr. Griswold, who stepped back as if about to strike, but some members interposed, observing, “such an affront must be considered, but this is not the time or place.” Mr. Griswold thereupon wiped his face, and quietly went out with his colleague. The Committee at once appointed on “breach of privileges” reported the facts, and recommended Mr. Lyon’s expulsion for the “gross indecency.”

After various discussions in the Committee of the Whole, the House, on 12th February, refused, for want of two thirds, to take this step, though a *majority* favored it. As some anticipated, the result was a personal fracas, notwithstanding the House had taken the precaution to pass a Resolution, that they would consider it a high breach of privilege, if a personal contest should ensue.

After the usual morning prayer, on the fifteenth of February, following, but before the Speaker had called the House to order, and while Mr. Lyon was sitting at his desk writing, Mr. Griswold approached and dealt him one or more blows with a cane. Mr. Lyon extricated himself and retreated; Mr. Griswold followed, still belaboring him, till Mr. Lyon, reaching the fire-place behind the Speaker’s chair, grasped the tongs, when the two combatants closed and both came to the floor, whereupon some members interposed and separated them; each combatant arming himself with a cane, Mr. Griswold was about to renew the attack, when, the Speaker calling the House to order, he desisted.

The motion for expulsion was renewed, and made applicable to both members, on the following day; this motion was also referred to a Committee, who reported adversely to expulsion, and a motion for even a vote of censure on both was defeated.

To the want of dignity, displayed by the House upon this discreditable occurrence, may, it is believed, “be ascribed the personal affrays that have since, from time to time, disgraced it.”

One other event ere Congress vacated this building can scarcely pass unnoticed in our memories of it, —

The official announcement of the *Death of Washington*.

On the nineteenth of December, upon the report of his death, both Houses adjourned. Upon the next day, John Marshall, then a member of the House (afterwards Chief Justice), rose in his place, and after confirming the melancholy event which the day before had been announced with doubt, "our Washington is no more, he lives only in his own great actions and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people," he paid a tribute to his character and service, that has never been surpassed. "More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide-spreading empire, and to give to the Western World its independence and its freedom." He concluded with offering resolutions that the House should wait upon the President in condolence; that the Speaker's chair should be shrouded with black, and that the members wear mourning.

"That a Committee, in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the man, FIRST IN WAR, FIRST IN PEACE, AND FIRST IN THE HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRY."¹

The Senate concurred, and on the Monday following, to which time the House adjourned, Mr. Marshall, as chairman of the joint committee, reported among other resolves: that the United States should erect a monument in the city of Washington; that there be a funeral procession from Congress Hall to the German Lutheran Church, in honor of the memory of General George Washington, on the twenty-sixth of December, and that an oration be prepared at the request of Congress, to be delivered before both Houses on that day. These Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Both Houses met at Congress Hall, on the twenty-sixth of December, pursuant to the arrangements. The Society of the Cincinnati and the military having assembled at the State House, a funeral procession was formed and escorted the bier, on which were displayed the General's hat and sword, to Zion Church where General Henry Lee, a personal friend of General Washington, pronounced his celebrated "Oration."

"The streets through which the procession passed" are described by the papers as "crowded with citizens who partook of the general sorrow, and on no occasion was the sympathy of every individual more

¹ Amended, apparently by Mr. Marshall himself, into *countrymen*, and subsequently incorporated in these words in General Lee's oration.

strongly excited than on this, the most awful and impressive scene ever witnessed."

It was recommended by Congress, that the ensuing twenty-second of February should be properly solemnized, which was accordingly done throughout the United States.

In Philadelphia the Society of the Cincinnati invited Major William Jackson to deliver an address suitable to the occasion.

The exterior of "Congress Hall" remains substantially as it was, when used by the Government; the interior has been changed. The Representatives met on the lower floor, the whole of which was in one chamber, with the exception of a vestibule running along the full front on Chestnut Street, and containing, on the left of the main door of entrance, the staircase to the chambers above. This again opened into a loggia, over which was the gallery, which latter opened directly into the street, through a door-way still visible on the east side. The Speaker's seat without canopy, "of plain leather and brass nails," was on the western side of the house, with members' seats ranged in three semi-circular rows in front. "The room was fitted up," says a contemporaneous European traveller, "in the plainest manner, though the Senate chamber in the story above is furnished in a much superior style." The latter occupied the chamber afterwards appropriated to and used by District Court No. 1, without essential change except in the removal of the gallery. The President's seat was on the north side, just without the bay-window; though he too occupied a plain chair without canopy, the mahogany table in front of him is described as "festooned with silk."

At the instance of Mr. Monroe, efforts were made to open the doors of the Senate Chamber to the public, on suitable occasions, and to order the construction of "a gallery" for the purpose. This attempt was made in February, 1791, but it was not successful. It was renewed at the next following session of Congress, and with similar results; nor was it practically effected till 1795; in that year, a small gallery was erected for the use of spectators, running along the northern side of the chamber."¹

¹ This gallery remained till Friday, the 24th of July, 1835, when the County Commissioners commenced some alteration in this chamber to conform to its use as a court-room. In removing the gallery and its accompanying wood-work adornments "a number of small pilasters ornamented," says a contemporary news-sheet, "with stucco work, were taken down; one of these pilasters was discovered bearing upon

THE CITY HALL.

The original "Towne Hall" was built long enough, ere Philadelphia was incorporated, to earn its name. We have already glanced at its occupation. It attained to very nearly the centennial anniversary of its erection when its successor was called into existence.

The first charter of incorporation of the City of Philadelphia bears date October 25, 1701. It was issued under the great seal of the Province and the sign-manual of William Penn.¹

William Penn himself nominated the first Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Councilmen, and granted to them amongst other privileges that of electing others to supply vacancies, and even to increase their own number at pleasure. The public grounds were granted to them by the title of the Mayor and Commonalty of the city of Philadelphia; but it was said that the Commonalty had no share in the government or estate of the city, the whole body being self-elective and not accountable to the citizens in any respect.

Tradition informs us that the charter of the city of Bristol, in England, from which many of the early settlers came, formed the model of the Philadelphia charter. "The Commonalty" soon evinced dissatis-

its back, unseen for forty years, an inscription in pencil mark, intended no doubt to hand down to posterity the name of the youthful journeyman carpenter, just out of his apprenticeship, by whom it was executed. This pilaster has fallen temporarily into our hands, and we are determined that the author of the record shall not be disappointed. If he be still living, we give him joy; if he be dead and has left posterity the pilaster ought of right to belong to them, and we will use our influence with the owner to obtain it for the proper person if he will apply to us. The inscription is as follows: 'Henry Clayton, son of William Clayton born June 27th, 1774, and aged twenty-one years and six months. George Forepaugh master-carpenter of the work of this gallery, November 14, 1795.'

The same writer goes on to state: "Among the time honored lumber which has been turned out of the chamber in question, we observe four beautiful Doric columns of wood which supported the gallery, in a perfect state of preservation; and should any of our readers desire to build a summer house with these valuable relics, he could no doubt buy them cheap of the County Commissioners, who probably intend them to go into the cellar, amongst a mass of other wood-work to kindle fires with, adding another proof to the many existing, that 'sic transit gloria mundi.'"

NOTICE is hereby given by the Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, that these columns are very much desired by them towards the restoration of Congress Hall, if any party then had sufficient foresight to act upon the editor's above suggestion. No trace of them remains in the cellar of the building.

¹ This document is now carefully preserved and exhibited in the National Museum of Independence Hall.

faction; they made frequent complaints to the Assembly of the abuses that were practiced under the city government; many appear upon the minutes of the House, notwithstanding which, at this early period, the legislative powers granted by the charter were very limited. They could not levy taxes for any use whatever, and could employ the income of the city estates for its use and embellishment only. Two separate bodies were constituted by the names of the City Wardens and Street Commissioners, to the former of whom, the lighting and watching, and to the latter the paving of the streets was committed. The Mayor, or Recorder, and four of the Aldermen concurring with each body, in laying the taxes and prescribing the mode of expending them; and thus the city legislation for these purposes became compounded of two branches. The Wardens and Commissioners, immediately elected by the people in the same manner as their representatives in Assembly, constituted the popular, and the Mayor and Aldermen the conservative branch. These bodies met in the Town Hall or Court House, on Market Street at corner of Second. They transacted the business committed to them with great harmony. The taxes are said to have been laid with equality, collected with moderation, and expended for the real use and improvement of the city.

The Mayor's Court was always filled with an able lawyer for the Recorder,¹ and another for the prosecution of criminal offences; and such was the orderly and upright administration of justice in it, that no court in the Province, or perhaps in any other country, exceeded it.

The Revolutionary War broke out and soon transformed "the Province" into "the State of Pennsylvania."

The Assembly on the 14th of March, 1777, passed an Act, which, after reciting that by the change of government the powers of the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen had ceased, specifically dispensed with their authority in certain cases, where their concurrence had been made necessary by statute, and, on the 21st of March of the same year, they passed another Act, the preamble of which declared that the late Revolution had divested all powers and jurisdictions, not founded on the authority of the people only, and it provided, that the President and Executive Council should appoint judges of a City, in

¹ The Recorders were, —

1701. Thomas Story.
1704. David Lloyd.
1707. Robert Assheton.
1726. Andrew Hamilton.

1741. William Allen.
1750. Tench Francis.
1755. Benjamin Chew.
1789. Alexander Wilcocks.

lieu of the Mayor's, Court, and further authorized them to appoint the city officers immediately needed, "until the public tranquility shall be so far established as to afford leisure for making some more permanent regulation."

This was not done, however, until 11th of March, 1789, when the Legislature of Pennsylvania saw fit to grant corporate powers to "the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia."

The preamble of the Act stamps the general system, and regulations in use, as ineffectual in providing for the order, safety, and happiness of the people; inadequate, to the suppression of vice and immorality, to the advancement of the public health and order, and the promotion of trade and industry; it is therefore "necessary to invest the inhabitants thereof with more speedy, vigorous, and effective powers of government." The municipal authority was vested in two branches though they sat and deliberated together.

A Board of Aldermen, fifteen in number, to serve for seven years, to be elected by the people; the Mayor to be chosen annually by the Board out of its own number.

A Common Council, to be composed of thirty members, and to be elected every three years.

A Recorder, to be elected by the Mayor and Aldermen. A Mayor's Court was established as a Court of Record, to consist of the Mayor or Recorder and three Aldermen, with specific powers as a Court of Quarter Sessions, etc., etc., and with right to writ of error directly to the Supreme Court.

To provide suitable apartments for these dignitaries it now became necessary to erect the City or "Common Hall," at the southeast corner of Fifth and Chestnut streets. Prompt measures were taken to this end.

To help the work along, a lottery was authorized in March, 1789. The preamble to the act recites the fact, that the buildings, already erected on the public or State House Square, were not only ornamental to the city, but have been found very convenient, and useful, for the accommodation of the Congress of the United States, for holding the sessions of the General Assemblies, Councils, Conventions, and such other bodies as the exigencies of this State have, from time to time, required; that the city is possessed of a lot, corresponding with that upon which the County Court House has been lately built, that the taxes already levied are exceedingly heavy, and any additional burden would be improper, etc., etc. A lottery is hence instituted, and ordered to be drawn under the authority of the Mayor, etc.,

twelve thousand five hundred tickets directed to be prepared, and specific directions given as to their form, price, method of drawing, etc., etc. Three thousand six hundred and eighty-seven were to be prize tickets, ranging from six dollars to three thousand, and in the aggregate fifty thousand dollars — twenty per cent. whereof, or ten thousand dollars, was the sum to be gained. Dickinson College, whose funds were recited as *inadequate* for the intended purposes, was to share in the benefits of the lottery to the extent of one-fifth, — two thousand dollars.

The building seems to have been finished in the Fall of 1791.

One of its chambers, at least, was at once appropriated to national purposes. The large back room on the second floor, subsequently known as the "Common Council Chamber," seems to have been relinquished to, — the always most august body of the Union, — the Supreme Court of the United States. Its first session was held here on the first Monday (7th) of February, 1791.

JOHN JAY presided as Chief Justice, with —

JOHN RUTLEDGE,
WILLIAM CUSHING,
JAMES WILSON,

JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES IREDELL,
Associate Justices.

JOHN RUTLEDGE and OLIVER ELLSWORTH,¹ as Chief Justices, also sat in this chamber, while

BUSHROD WASHINGTON,
SAMUEL CHASE,
THOMAS JOHNSON,

WILLIAM PATERSON,
and
ALFRED MOORE,

were all Associate Justices during the period in this building. Its last session in Philadelphia terminated on the 15th of August, 1800.

Partly probably in recognition of this use, and partly for providing the President's House, the State Legislature reimbursed the City, in common with the County, for the additional outlay in accommodating the National Government.

The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, at this time, sat together as *one* body, and seem to have occupied the large back room, also used for the Mayor's Court, on first floor, adjoining which, on the western side, was the Mayor's private office and on the eastern two offices for other city officials.

¹ John Marshall was appointed Chief Justice, 27th January, 1801, and thus was the first Chief Justice of the Court at its session in Washington City.

The Supreme Court of the State also held its sessions in this building, from the time of its completion, and most probably, interchangeably with the Supreme Court of the United States, in the same chamber. The sessions of the latter, at this period, were only of a few days duration, each.

In 1796, on the 4th April, an Act was passed which created, for municipal control, two distinct bodies, in order, says the preamble, that the charter of incorporation "may be rendered more similar to the frame of government of this Commonwealth." Twenty persons to be elected to the Common Council to serve for one year, with qualifications the same as Members of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, and twelve persons for Select Council to serve for three years, except as modified by the requirements of the first period of service, in order to effect a change of *one third* of their number in every year.

The eastern room in the second story, used in 1876 by clerks of councils, was apparently appropriated to the Select Branch, while the opposite room was given to the Common. After the Supreme Court of the United States was transferred to the federal capital, its large chamber was relinquished to the Common Council,¹ and the eastern chamber adjoining, to the Select. These apartments were respectively retained by them until "consolidation," in 1854, of the old "City proper," with the adjoining Districts and Suburbs. The large increase of members thence resulting made larger quarters necessary, and the second floor of the main building — "Independence Hall" — was completely remodeled, essentially as we have it in 1876.

The Mayors from the time of the occupation of this building were, —

1791. JOHN BARCLAY.	1811. MICHAEL KEPPELE.
1792. MATTHEW CLARKSON.	1812. JOHN BARKER.
1796. HILARY BAKER.	1813. JOHN GEYER.
1798. ROBERT WHARTON.	1814. ROBERT WHARTON.
1800. JOHN INSKEEP.	1819. JAMES N. BARKER.
1801. MATTHEW LAWLER.	1820. ROBERT WHARTON.
1805. JOHN INSKEEP.	1824. JOSEPH WATSON.
1806. ROBERT WHARTON.	1828. GEORGE M. DALLAS.
1808. JOHN BARKER.	1829. BENJ. W. RICHARDS.
1810. ROBERT WHARTON.	1830. WILLIAM MILNOR.

¹ Thus the Supreme Court of the State was again the victim of circumstances until, in 1802, Independence Chamber itself was given up for their use.

1831. BENJ. W. RICHARDS.	1849. JOEL JONES.
1832. JOHN SWIFT.	1850. CHARLES GILPIN.
1838. ISAAC ROACH.	1854. ROBERT T. CONRAD. ²
1839. JOHN SWIFT. ¹	1856. RICHARD VAUX.
1841. JOHN M. SCOTT.	1858. ALEXANDER HENRY.
1844. PETER MCCALL.	1865. MORTON MCMICHAEL.
1845. JOHN SWIFT.	1868. DANIEL M. FOX.
1871-76. WILLIAM S. STOKLEY, ³	

The Recorders have been Alexander Wilcocks, from 1791 to 1800. Alexander J. Dallas, 1801. Moses Levy, 1802. Mahlon Dickerson, 1808. Joseph Reed, 1810.

¹ First Mayor elected by the people.

² First Mayor upon consolidation of "the Liberties" etc., with the old city proper.

³ Their Predecessors were "The First Mayor" Edward Shippen, 1701.

1703. Anthony Morris.	1742. William Till.
1704. Griffith Jones.	1743. Benjamin Shoemaker.
1705. Joseph Wilcocks.	1744. Edward Shippen.
1706. Nathan Stanbury.	1745. James Hamilton.
1707. Thomas Masters.	1746. William Atwood.
1709. Richard Hill.	1748. Charles Willing.
1710. William Carter.	1749. Thomas Lawrence.
1711. Samuel Preston.	1750. William Plumsted.
1712. Jonathan Dickinson.	1751. Robert Stretzell.
1713. George Roch.	1752. Benjamin Shoemaker.
1714. Richard Hill.	1753. Thomas Lawrence.
1717. Jonathan Dickinson.	1754. Charles Willing.
1719. William Fishbourne.	1755. William Plumsted.
1722. James Logan.	1756. Atwood Shute.
1723. Clement Plumsted.	1758. Thomas Lawrence.
1724. Isaac Norris.	1759. John Stamper.
1725. William Hudson.	1760. Benjamin Shoemaker.
1726. Charles Read.	1761. Jacob Duché.
1727. Thomas Lawrence.	1762. Henry Harrison.
1729. Thomas Griffiths.	1763. Thomas Willing.
1731. Samuel Hassel.	1764. Thomas Lawrence.
1733. Thomas Griffiths.	1765. John Lawrence.
1734. Thomas Lawrence.	1767. Isaac Jones.
1735. William Allen.	1769. Samuel Shoemaker.
1736. Clement Plumsted.	1771. John Gibson.
1737. Thomas Griffiths.	1773. William Fisher.
1738. Anthony M. Morris.	1774. Samuel Rhoads.
1739. Edward Roberts.	1775. Samuel Powel.
1740. Samuel Hassel.	1789. Samuel Powel.
1741. Clement Plumsted.	1790. Samuel Miles.

PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY BUILDING.

Shortly after the acquisition, by the Colonial authorities, of the whole of the State House Square, the Library Company of Philadelphia had petitioned the Legislature for the grant of a lot, whereupon to erect a suitable building. The rapid increase of their stock of books demanded more space than that already given them, in the chamber of the western wing of the State House, which the Legislature had allowed them to use since 1740. No action was taken, at that time, by the Assembly, and a second effort, after its junction, in 1769, with the Union and the Association Library Companies, met with a similar fate.

The petition of the Library Company was quickly followed by a similar application from the American Philosophical Society, who "needed a commodious Building, suitable to meet in and to deposit the curiosities of Nature and Art, which are or may be transmitted, etc." They expressed the hope of being able "to execute their plan, in a degree that would be beneficial to their country, and do honor to their city," etc.

A joint petition from both corporations to the same effect was refused by the Assembly in September, 1784.

When at the close of that year, however, plans for the improvement of the Square were being agitated, the Philosophical Society renewed its application for a lot, and now undertook to specify the location desired by them. The application having been favorably entertained, a Bill was presented on the 23d of December, and though it met with considerable opposition in the House, and the Library Company petitioned against such discrimination, the Bill was finally passed, thirty-six to twenty-five, and duly "enacted" March 28, 1785.¹

¹ The law itself—not reprinted in the Laws of Pennsylvania—is entitled "The Act for vesting in the Philosophical Society," etc., etc.

"Whereas, It is expedient and proper to give all due encouragement to societies established for the purpose of advancing the arts and sciences and promulgating useful knowledge; and whereas it hath been represented to us by the incorporated Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia that for the better answering the purpose of their institution it is necessary that they should have a public Hall, Library, and other accommodations: and whereas the said society have prayed us to grant to them and their successors a lot of ground suitable and convenient for erecting a hall and other buildings necessary for their accommodation; therefore:

"II. *Be it enacted*, etc. That a certain lot or piece of ground, being part of the State House Square, situated on the west side of Fifth Street and beginning ninety-six feet southward from Chestnut Street, and thence extending along Fifth Street

The lot granted was located on Fifth Street, immediately in the rear of that allotted for the city buildings. The grantees were strictly restrained from selling, transferring, or even leasing it, and the buildings to be erected thereon were to be applied exclusively "to the accommodation of the said Society."¹ No time was lost. An appeal for aid was at once made to the friends of the Society.

"Inasmuch as useful knowledge is always an object of first consideration among an enlightened and free People; and as the American Philosophical Society was instituted for the express purpose of cultivating such branches thereof as have an immediate tendency to advance the Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce of this Country; as well as to pursue more deep and refined disquisitions in the field of Nature. And whereas their proceedings and success have been heretofore, and still are, greatly impeded through want of a suitable place to meet in, and proper Repositories for their Books, Apparatus, and various Communications, Donations, &c. To remedy which, the General Assembly of this Commonwealth have, by a special Act, granted and confirmed to the said Society and their Successors a very convenient Lot of ground, being part of the State House Square."

A liberal subscription was promptly made in July, in order with "all practicable Expedition, to enable a Committee, which is ap-

aforsaid seventy feet south towards Walnut Street, thence westwardly on the State House Square fifty feet, thence northward on a line parallel to Fifth Street seventy feet, and thence eastward fifty feet to the place of beginning, shall and hereby is given and granted to and vested in the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for promoting useful knowledge to have and to hold the said lot of ground to the said American Philosophical Society and their successors forever; for the purpose of erecting thereon a hall, library, and such other buildings or apartments as the said Society may think necessary for their proper accommodation.

"III. *Provided always*, and it is the intention and meaning of this act that the said lot of ground shall not be sold, leased or transferred by the said Philosophical Society or their successors to any other person or persons or bodies corporate, nor shall the same be applied by the said Society to any other use or purpose but that of erecting buildings for the accommodation of the said Society as hereinbefore specified.

"*Enacted March 28th, 1785.*"

¹ In the fall following, the Society presented a petition to the Assembly, setting forth "that the ground was found to be so high, and the sand so deep, as to admit the having a range of vaults with a range of stores thereon under the buildings intended for the accommodation" of the Society, and therefore prayed for power to lease the stores and vaults when completed, and also such apartments as would not be wanted for the immediate use of the Society for such purposes as might bear affinity with, or tend to promote, the design of the Institution. This privilege was not accorded until March 17, 1786, and it was then restricted to such purposes as have an affinity with the design of their institution, and no other.

pointed for the purpose, to construct a neat, sufficient Building, on the ground aforesaid."

Dr. Franklin subscribed one hundred pounds, and Samuel Vaughan fifty. Upon the subscription list are to be found the names of James Wilson, Bishop White, Rev. Samuel Magaw; Doctors Rush, Hutchinson, Samuel Powel Griffiths, Parke and Kuhn; David Rittenhouse, John Vaughan and Samuel Vaughan, Jonathan Bayard Smith, Jared Ingersoll, William Bradford, Levi Hollingsworth, John Carson, and other public-spirited citizens of the day.

Ground was at once broken, and the Society took possession about 1787-88, of its finished building.

PEALE'S MUSEUM.

The chambers on the lower floor of the Hall of the Philosophical Society were occupied by Charles Wilson Peale, in 1794. Here he placed his Museum and practiced his profession as an artist. This Museum was the first established in America, and was started by Mr. Peale almost immediately after the Independence of the United States had been formally acknowledged by Great Britain. Having studied with Hesselius, Copley, and West, Mr. Peale had acquired considerable talent at portrait-painting, and he set himself to work,—before Trumbull seems to have thought of it,—to preserve the likenesses of the heroes of the war. He was also something of a naturalist, and had formed quite a collection of natural history subjects. Some bones of the Mammoth and the Paddle-fish gave him his first start, in 1785. Mr. Westcott tells us that "the collection was at first located in a diminutive frame-house connected with his dwelling at the corner of Third and Lombard Streets."

After the removal to the Philosophical Society, "Mr. Peale was constantly engaged in adding to the value and interest of his collections by the labor of his own hands." Many of the portraits known as "the Peale Collection," were painted while in this building. Washington himself here sat to him, and simultaneously to his brother and two sons, giving rise to the *bon-mot* of a Philadelphia punster on meeting Mrs. Washington, who mentioned the fact to him, "Madam, the President will be *peeled* all round, if he don't take care."

It is also stated that Mr. Peale started a Zoölogical Garden, in the rear of the Hall. Besides the wild beasts in the enclosure, an American Eagle¹ was exhibited in a large cage, on which was this inscription, "Feed me daily, one hundred years."

¹ This identical eagle, carefully stuffed, ere yet the hundred years had elapsed, is



CHARLES WILSON PEALE.

The accommodations here proving inadequate for his largely increasing stock of curiosities, Mr. Peale made application to the Legislature for the use of the State House. Accordingly, in 1802, the whole of the second floor, together with Independence Chamber itself, were granted to him rent free. At the request, however, of the Supreme Court of the State he relinquished Independence Chamber for their use.

Under date of April 9, 1802, he writes to a friend in Baltimore: "I am excessively busy in preparing the State House of this city to place my Museum therein. The Legislature having made me a grant of it during their pleasure, and which it will not be difficult for me to transform to *during my pleasure*,¹ as the increase and improvement of this School of Nature shall become so much the favorite of the Public and the utility made manifest to all men, so that further aid will also follow. It ought to be national property, since it is truly a national good, and requires, and is well deserving, an appropriation of greater funds than an individual can afford."

Mr. Peale now gave up his profession and devoted himself to the permanent establishment and enlargement of his Museum.

In the "long gallery," or banquetting hall, he placed his Portrait Gallery of distinguished people, painted from the life, chiefly by himself and by his son Rembrandt Peale. These were arranged in two rows over the cases. The latter, about twelve feet in height, contained a large collection of birds, duly classified and arranged, according to Linnæus's system; while, in the background, was the scenery appropriate to each, — mountains, plains, water, etc. The genus and species were noted in the Latin, English, and French languages.

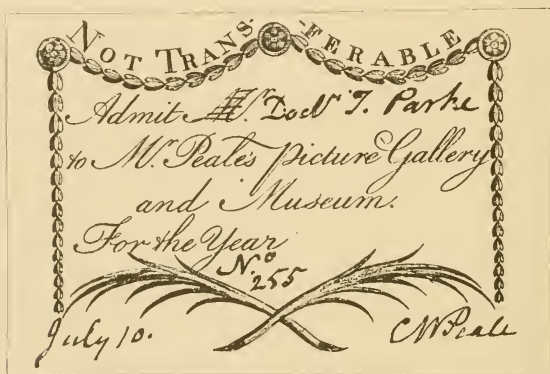
Insects, properly classified, were also here exhibited; and those "too small to be examined with the naked eye are placed in microscopic wheels." A perfect skeleton of the mammoth which had been found in New York, "after great exertion" was obtained and placed in one of the ante-chambers. "The Marine Room" contained many amphibious animals, as well as every variety of fishes, while the tops of their cases were ornamented "with artificial rock-work supporting corals, sea-fans, and other marine productions." Minerals and fossils were also displayed, arranged according to Kirwan. "Among the clays," says Mr. Peale, "are some American specimens, equal to those

now in the National Museum of Independence Hall, and to many of the old gentlemen of to-day, reviving as it does their childish recollections of "the first Zoo," it forms a highly interesting feature.

¹ Mr. Peale, as will be seen, retained the building until his death.

of which the finest porcelain is made in China or France; various fine colored earths proper for pigments; a variety of handsome crystals and precious stones, among which is the North American topaz.'"

No essential change in the building was made, for the occupancy by Peale, for his Museum. He constructed, however, a room over the stairway in the main hall, of a temporary character, in which he prepared subjects and deposited the stores of duplicates, intended for exchange for subjects from other quarters of the globe, and also the library of natural history, etc. After acquisition of the property by the city, the authorities required the removal of this room, on account of the injury caused to the architectural beauties of the stairway; but, as he urged, that it was an indispensable appendage for the necessary



work and improvement of the Museum "which is always receiving and possessing valuable articles of natural history, which require our utmost exertions to find place for their display in proper order, without this room, the Museum cannot be improved or even maintained; it is confessed to be a valuable repository for diffusing knowledge to the citizens generally, and also an attractive inducement to strangers to visit and spend their money amongst us." This protest, it is believed was effectual; the little room was not removed until Mr. Peale's death, upon the reconstruction of the steeple.

A sign-board "Museum" was placed over the front door.

The city authorities, in March, 1812, asked permission of the Legislature, and were allowed to remove a portion of the wings, including the arcades and the connecting square offices, and to construct buildings for the public uses of the day. This was accomplished in 1813.

The new buildings were carefully planned, and erected by Robert Mills, the architect, and as consistent with the symmetry and architecture of the State House and corner buildings as their general needs admitted, the same line of exterior walls was nearly preserved, except as to the recess immediately adjoining the main building, which was widened towards Walnut Street. This closed the two southernmost doors in Independence Chamber and in the Judicial Chamber. The only relic, then in consequence removed, was *the case* of the old clock; the case itself was modified and suffered to remain till 1828.¹

Within a few years after this was effected, under an act of the Legislature of March 11, 1816, the city of Philadelphia became the actual owner of the whole property. The deed of sale was formally executed June 29, 1818, for and in consideration of the sum of seventy thousand dollars. [Recorded in the office of Recorder of Deeds for City of Philadelphia, in Deed Book MR., No. 20, p. 241.]

The State reserved in favor of the Philosophical Society the rights already granted to that body; the public interests were not overlooked, but a restriction was laid upon the grantees "that no part of said ground lying to the southward of the State House, within the wall as it is now built, be made use of for erecting any sort of buildings thereon; but the same shall be and remain a public green and walk forever."

Several changes seem to have taken place at this time.

Congress Hall was slightly modified (no doubt the entrance on Sixth Street was then constructed), and fitted up for the Supreme Court of the State, which since 1802 had been sitting in Independence Chamber. The Hall of Representatives, or a part thereof on the first floor, was assigned to the District Court of the City and County of Philadelphia, a tribunal at one time as highly respected as the Supreme Court, and which probably sat from its organization, in 1811, in the Colonial Supreme Court Room; this latter at the time of the purchase by the city seems to have been relinquished to the Mayor's Court.²

¹ In January, 1830, upon petition from citizens, this clock, together with the old bell—the second one imported from England,—were given to the congregation of St. Augustine's Church in North Fourth Street, with the right reserved to the municipality to reclaim the same should it be so determined. They were both destroyed by fire with the church.

² It may be as well to note here that this chamber was afterwards used by the Court of Common Pleas, a bench once occupied by OSWALD THOMPSON, as Chief Justice, a great jurist, an upright judge, a pure man, and an accomplished gentleman.

The United States Circuit and District Courts seem generally to have occupied the old United States Senate Chamber, while it is likely the old Court of Common Pleas, after the demolition of the Court House, on Market Street, had, up to this time, exclusive possession of the old Hall of Representatives.

Few of the associations, since the city's ownership, are calculated to increase our attachment to this venerated building.

In 1824, Lafayette visited Philadelphia. It was considered appropriate that Independence Chamber should be fitted up to enable him to formally receive the citizens. This was accordingly done, though apparently more in a mode to suit the notions of the day, than with any effort to recall the memories of 1776.¹ Still the selection of the place was fruitful of results, for attention was thus again drawn to the State House, and upon what was nearly the centennial of the date of its erection, a resolution was introduced in the Common Council, which led to a partial restoration of the building.

Messrs. Francis Gurney Smith and Benjamin Tilghman, of Common Council, and Manuel Eyre and John W. Thompson, of the Select Council, were appointed a committee to carry out the resolution offered by the first named:—

*“Resolved, by the Select and Common Councils, That a joint committee of two members from each Council be appointed, to have the turret in the rear of the State House surveyed, and, if found adapted to the purpose, to procure a plan and estimate of the cost of carrying it up to a height sufficient to place a clock and bell therein, to be called the ‘City Clock,’ from which the time for the whole city can be regulated.”*²

Messrs. William Strickland, Daniel Groves, John O'Neill, and John Struthers, practical architects and builders, were accordingly called upon to survey the building and submit plans and estimates, on 14th February, 1828. They accordingly stated to the Committee, that having examined the square tower, in the rear of the State House, with reference to its strength and capability of supporting a super-structure, they found that the foundation walls were three feet in thickness at the base, and eighteen inches at the top, being carried up

¹ The wooden statue of Washington, carved by William Rush, so celebrated for his figure-heads to ships, was now placed in this chamber on deposit.

² The desire to have a clock and bell upon this occasion, led to a result most gratifying to the next generation. We will hope that the present effort to supersede these for reasons best known to the projectors, may not be a source of regret to the present or succeeding generations.

with good substantial brick-work, to the height of sixty-nine feet, having regular offsets on the outside at each of the stories. The walls of the upper story are thirty-one feet square, being tied together with girders; and a strong trussed framing of oak and gum timber; that no departure from stability then appeared in any part of the building, except a slight crack in the southern face of the wall, immediately over the arch of the large Venetian window, which must have occurred shortly after the tower was built; that it had been caused by the opening of the window being so great, as to throw the largest portion of the weight of the walls toward the external angles of the tower; they stated their opinion, however, that this circumstance did not at all affect the strength of the building, and that two stories of brick-work, eighteen inches in thickness, and comprising about twenty-eight or thirty feet in height, could be added to the existing walls with perfect safety; and "by a continuation of the framing alluded to, connecting it with strong diagonal girders, attached by iron clamps to the walls of each of these stories, a wooden cupola and spire," they go on to say, "could be firmly and easily constructed."

This statement and opinion were submitted by the Committee, accordingly, to Councils, and they reported that they had also received a proposal from Mr. Isaiah Lukens, to make a clock for the city, and a proposal from Mr. John Wilbank to cast a bell, to be placed in the cupola of the turret. That the expenses of carrying up the turret according to the plan proposed, of which a drawing by Mr. Strickland was submitted, and stated to be in fact a restoration of the spire originally erected with the building, and standing there on 4th July, 1776, and putting a clock and bell therein would be:—

Expenses of carrying up the Turret and Cupola	\$8,000
“ “ Clock	2,000
“ “ Bell, 4,000 lbs. at 45 cts., \$1,800	
(Allowed for old Bell \$400)	1,400
	<u>\$11,400</u>
Cost of painting Turret and incidental expenses	600
Total estimate	<u>\$12,000</u>

“The value of the old clock,” say they, “is left out of view, as from its age and condition, it is not considered of more value than old metal, except the dials, which might be used for the new clock, and an allowance made for them by the maker.

“In making this report to Councils, your committee are impressed

with the necessity of having a uniform time for the city, which would be obtained, by having a good clock under the superintendence of a careful person.

"The carrying up of the turret would also contribute greatly to the ornament of our city, which is so deficient in embellishments, which in other cities, are considered as indispensable. From what your committee have learned since their appointment, the carrying into effect of the plan proposed by them, would meet the approbation of the city at large, and is anxiously and heartily wished for by all. Your committee do not deem it necessary to expatiate upon the utility that the accomplishment of the object before you would be in case of fires, in affording an opportunity of discovering them, and giving the alarm in a much more effectual manner than at present."

The committee, therefore, asked that they be authorized to perfect, and carry out, the plan submitted. The discussion which ensued shows how the prevalence of a more correct taste and due appreciation of Independence Hall, among the citizens of Philadelphia, was beginning to exercise its legitimate effect upon Councils.

The chairman, in enforcing the passage of the resolution, stated that the citizens of Philadelphia seemed to be unanimous in regard to the proposed improvement, and he hoped a like unanimity would be found to prevail in Councils.

Mr. Wayne objected to the question being hastily decided. He doubted if the tower would sustain as heavy a superstructure as it was proposed to raise on it. The clock, then in use, might well last for fifty years.

Mr. Tilghman said: "If there is anything proverbial, it is the badness of the clock at the State House. It is an excusing not a regulating clock. It is a clock which affords no rule to go by, but a rule not to go by, for everybody knows it can never go right." He stated that "the plan of Mr. Strickland had been preferred, on account of its being a restoration of the old steeple. If there were a spot on earth, on which space might be identified with holiness, it would be the spot on which the old State House stands. It is a sacred spot, a sacred building." He also expressed his regret that unhallowed hands had ever been permitted to touch it, and regarded the rebuilding of the steeple as an entering wedge for restoring the building to the state in which it stood in 1776.

Mr. Smith said he must correct the error of his friend. "The plan of rebuilding *coincides* with the original plan as far as is *possibly* consistent with durability, and the use for which the steeple is intended.

Two stories of brick-work are *substituted* for the wood-work, which *used* to be a part of the superstructure of the present tower." Brick, he stated, had been preferred to wood to prevent a vibration which would damage the clock as a time-keeper; and to bear the great weight of the bell; "I would *prefer*," he continued, "rebuilding the steeple *exactly* according to the original plan, but that would not be possible *if* an improved clock and bell are to be placed therein." The cupola and spire he claimed to be exact copies of the original.

Mr. Troth remarked that regard to his own character compelled him to say that the plan submitted was not a copy of the original steeple. "That was very handsome, this is very far from being so. By carrying up the turret two stories higher with *brick*, without any offsets, instead of the old wood-work, the effect of the original is entirely destroyed. Our character is at stake as men of taste and as admirers of antiquity, and I hope we will not proceed hastily in this business."

Mr. Lowber: "So far from being an ornament to the city, it would be a deformity; so far from recalling to mind the venerable pile that stood on the spot, it would efface the remembrance of it altogether. It is not the ancient design. I would rejoice to see that building restored to its ancient state — to the *precise* state in which it was when the glorious event to which it owes its celebrity was consummated. But no man will be able to look at that building with its new (proposed brick) steeple and be able to persuade himself that it represents the ancient State House. If the original features of the building cannot be preserved, I would much rather the whole were demolished, that we might by some handsome monument point out the spot where the glorious Declaration of our National Independence was agreed upon."

Mr. Tilghman: "No man shall ever say of me that I took advantage of the excitement of the moment to press through a favorite measure. I again say that I regard the rebuilding of the steeple as the entering wedge for restoring the building to its original state. The restoration of it is now possible, as persons are now living who remember the exact appearance of every part. Fifty years hence it will be impossible. The old door, the old roof, all the ancient characteristics of the building, might be restored at the expense of a few hundred dollars, and I, for one, am determined to make the effort."

Mr. Walmsley had come to the Council Chamber prepared to vote for steeple, clock, and bell, but he was now convinced that carrying up the turret *with two stories of brick* would destroy the effect of the original plan.

Mr. Johnson had conversed with a number of respectable persons on the subject, and found them all in favor of the clock and bell, and careless of the expense of rebuilding the steeple, provided the building were restored to its original form. He moved to postpone the further consideration of the resolution for the present.

Mr. Smith said the Committee would like to know what the members of Council desired.

Mr. Lowber had no difficulty in answering for himself: he wished to *see the old steeple restored*; with two stories of brick work, to receive the clock and bell, but of precisely the same form as the old wood-work, and to be painted in resemblance of it.

Mr. Smith replied this would be impossible, as the walls of the turret are only eighteen inches in thickness at top; it will not be practicable to make the different offsets in brick-work without carrying up a new wall from the foundation, inside of the present tower.

Mr. Lowber: "I should like to know the expense of completing the steeple in this way. A picture of the original steeple has just been placed in my hand, that I may contrast it with the plan reported by the Committee. Why, no man who had ever seen the original, and who was called to look on the State House, with the new steeple, could believe he was in the same country; he would suppose he was on a different side of the Atlantic. The ancient steeple was very handsome. This is a mammoth chimney — so it would be called if it was ever erected — a straight mass of walls; a short tower; there is no beauty, no symmetry about it."

Fortunately the objections, thus made, prevailed. Another plan was obtained from Mr. Strickland, and adopted. In this, the two stories of brick *were* dispensed with, and the steeple *restored* very nearly to its original. Openings, however, for the four faces of the clock were made, and thus practically the views of both sides were accomplished.

The completion of the new steeple was celebrated upon 4th July, 1828, and "a grand raising frolic was given, in the long room of the State House, to the workmen, and there was a very good time." According to programme Lukens made the clock, and Wilbank, the bell, — the latter was completed and placed in position on 11th September following. It is stated that "the dimensions of this bell were scientifically calculated previously to being cast, and so accurately, that the weight was in excess only seventy-five pounds, its total weight being 4,275 pounds, and cost \$1,923.75."¹

¹ This bell was short-lived, but like its great predecessor proved so unsatisfactory



INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1876.

REAR VIEW.

This vaunt, however, is not sustained by the estimate submitted in advance to Councils, as its weight was to be 4,000 pounds. Still, as the increase, over the intended, weight of the original bell was but eighty pounds, it would not appear that our more modern bell-founder could plume himself on any progression in "scientific calculation" in the intervening seventy-five years.

Mr. Lowber's words fell upon fallow ground, and we find that in July, 1830, petitions were sent to the Councils to restore the old Hall to its original condition, and to require for the future that the chamber should be used for "dignified purposes only." In the early part of the following year, a plan for restoring Independence Chamber was accordingly submitted to, and approved by, Councils. It was drawn by Mr. Haviland, and as he confined himself to the reinstating such portions of the paneling as had been removed (but fortunately preserved in the attic of the State House), and only eked out the missing portions which, he assures us, were "trifling," the results are very satisfactory.

Mr. Haviland, in his report to Thomas Kittera, Esq., dated March 29, 1831, *conceives*, — though fortunately so imperfectly that he could not carry it out, — at the western end of the room a gallery forsooth, and, as if this did not open the Assembly or Congress sufficiently to the public, he further *imagines*, an arcade opening into the vestibule "on either side of the entrance, similar to the one through which you pass to the staircase." Two conceits, more antagonistic to the practice of the times, of "closed doors," could not well have been brought forth. The arcade is entirely irreconcilable to the finish of the vestibule, which has fortunately never been tampered with.

Disposition was now shown by Councils to adorn the chamber, and the first purchase was Rush's Statue of Washington, in the fall of this year. Mr. Rush states, in his application for the purchase, that he had executed it about 1812, and that he had frequently modeled General Washington, in his life-time, as well in miniature as of life-size; that this statue was the result of a labor of four months, and that he had been sixty years in the business. He winds up with the statement: "The figure is excavated, and saturated with oil, and will be as durable as any furniture, etc." His price was five hundred dollars.

that Mr. Wilbank was required to cast another, which was placed in position December 27, 1828. It weighed forty-six hundred pounds, and was struck for the first time at three o'clock, December 30, when was used the new arrangement of a hammer striking the hour by means of the clock-works. It is said that by New Year's day of 1829, the whole machinery was in perfect and satisfactory operation.

At the close of 1832, Roberts Vaux and Thomas I. Wharton, a committee of a society formed for commemorating the landing of William Penn, presented to the city the full-length portrait of the Founder by Inman, and desired that it might be placed in Independence Hall. They expressed an earnest hope on the part of the Society, that a gallery of portraits of distinguished Pennsylvanians might be thus commenced. Councils cordially approved of the design of the Society, and authorized the portrait to be placed in the building.

After these repairs and improvements to Independence Chamber were made, "it was no easy matter," says Mr. Westcott, in his "History of Philadelphia," "to obtain a sight of its interior. The key was in the custody of the janitor of the steeple, and that Caleb Quotemish sort of a functionary was expected to look out for fires, both by day and by night, to keep the building in order, to act as guardian of the sacred Hall, and to play the cicerone, to all strangers who made pilgrimages thither. It is no wonder, under these circumstances, that very few, of the many who desired to visit the spot, were ever gratified by accomplishing more than the obtaining of a peep through the key-hole."

Upon "Consolidation" of the city of Philadelphia with its suburbs, in 1854, into one corporation, the City Hall was found too small for the accommodation of the Select and Common Councils. The second story of the State House was appropriated to their sessions. The Banqueting Hall, with its adjoining chambers, now disappear, and the three rooms are modified into two large chambers with intervening galleries for spectators.

On the first floor, the judicial room, long used for the Mayor's Court, was appropriated to the Court of Common Pleas, while the former took possession of the Common Council Chamber in the old City Hall.

Independence Chamber had for some time been used, upon occasion, for the courtesies of the city, extended either to the living or the dead whom the municipality "delighted to honor." At intervals it was thrown open to the public, and finally a janitor was appointed, and the room kept open, permanently, to gratify the increasing patriotic sentiment. The papers had announced in June, 1846, that "this sacred place is undergoing a thorough repairing, repainting, etc." The court fixtures have all been removed, and the old furniture disposed of; a splendid outfit in furniture, including carpets, sofas, chairs, etc., are to be placed in it." Old Liberty Bell, which had long been permitted to remain in dignified retirement in the tower, ever





INDEPENDENCE CH.

A RECEIPT



FOR TO RESTORATION.

AND ENDS."



since the futile effort to restore its *sound* by enlarging the cause of its dissonance,¹ was taken from its scaffolding and lowered to the first floor.

A massive pedestal of wood, ornamented by Roman fasces, liberty-caps, and festooned flags, was constructed in Independence Chamber, and the old Bell, with its tongue uprooted, and surmounted by Peale's Eagle, was placed upon it.

Most opportunely in October, 1854, Mr. Peale's gallery of paintings was offered for sale at public auction. This same gallery, it will be remembered, formed part of Peale's Museum during its occupancy of the second floor of the State House.

Earnest efforts were made to secure the whole collection for the city of Philadelphia, but failing in this, the agents who attended the sale succeeded in securing quite a number of historical portraits, among them thirteen of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

All the paintings then purchased were indiscriminately placed in Independence Chamber. From time to time, other purchases were made and numerous offerings were accepted by the city authorities. Besides the portraits, thus accumulated, the chamber became a store-house, a lumber-room for every variety of trash. As the writer had occasion to say when urging a reformation: "Occasionally a public-spirited citizen would be moved to present to the city a Portrait, a Photograph, a Bible, a casting, or a relic, — real or imaginary, — and it was at once stored in this room. The latter became a general receptacle for framed resolutions of Councils, the abortive contribution to the Washington National Monument, — in fact it served as a living, ever ready, response to the often embarrassing question in Councils, 'What *shall* we do with it?'

"We had every reason to apprehend that the vehicle yclept Washington's coach — which *as such* has done noble duty at fairs or processions — would find its way or be thrust into this chamber, for here already was his *leather* colored horse, prancing over the door in such form and manner as might have justified the intervention of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. While some of the portraits, though valuable as original paintings and as representing

¹ In 1846, it is said, in order to use it upon Washington's birth-day of that year, it was drilled out, but on attempting to ring it, the crack threatened to extend, and further tinkering was then abandoned. All sorts of chimerical projects have since been submitted to the committee in regard to it. Some have projected filling up the crack, that it might again be rung, and they undertook to "guarantee perfect success," while others have had the actual temerity to ask the privilege to recast it!!!

men great and good in their various walks of life, their memories were actually contemned by right thinking people, from being thrust into positions which they could neither grace nor justify, other portraits again absolutely defiled the walls. Brant, the savage, above all others in Pennsylvania history, damned to eternal infamy; Red-Jacket too, forsooth was here, — a whole batch of men of whom the catalogue could only say: 'of liberal education and excellent moral character'; the vilest daub and caricature of General Jackson (unfit for a tavern sign); the likeness of an obscure political agitator doing duty for Charles Lee, of Revolutionary notoriety; lithographs of cooper-shop refreshment saloons, forged autographs, and fictitious relics." Thus were the walls defaced and the architectural beauties of the chamber marred or concealed. Not a single piece of furniture of its original equipment had been preserved within this chamber, except the fine old glass chandelier which alone had escaped the hands of the vandals — the latter had even removed the pillars once supporting the ceiling.¹

Such was the state of affairs when the writer conceived the design of effecting the restoration to Independence Chamber of its original furniture, and of ridding it of everything inconsistent with the memories which alone should be recalled on visiting this sanctuary, encouraging the latter by appropriate illustrations in portraiture.

Upon the death of a near relative, he became the possessor of one of the original chairs used in the Hall in 1776, which had been preserved in his family for sixty years in its original worn condition;² he determined to replace this, and to seek others. Upon an official visit to Harrisburg, at the close of the late civil war, he discovered in actual use in the Senate Chamber at the Capitol, two more of the original chairs, which he was able to identify, though they had been slightly changed by the *elongation* of their legs for the convenience of the Sergeants-at-arms: whereupon he applied to the then Governor (Curtin) to order them returned to Philadelphia, to the original Legislative chamber, from which they had been taken. This was eventually done.

The Governor went further. He sent back to the Hall the identical chair originally made for the Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, the chair already referred to as used by Hancock, while President of Congress, and by Washington, while President of the Convention

¹ Possibly this was done during the "improvements" of 1828.

² It was presented by Mrs. William Meredith, the elder, a niece of Gouverneur Morris who secured it at the time the furniture was scattered.



which framed the Constitution of the United States; with it came also the Speaker's table, which had also been in use during the session of Congress in 1776, and upon which the Declaration of Independence must itself have been signed by those who subscribed on August 2, 1776.

On visiting the Hall of the American Philosophical Society, the writer also discovered a chair, the exact counterpart of the Congressional chair of 1776, and already referred to as authenticated by traditional statement and family possession. Upon the examination of the minutes of the Society, it was found that this second chair had been also authenticated and presented to the Society some forty years before by Francis Hopkinson, Esquire, the Clerk of United States District Court, in whose possession it had been since the dispersement of the furniture of Independence Chamber. Thus was presented conclusive proof of the identity of both. The very existence of these four chairs afforded the wherewithal for the conviction that such "restoration" as he then contemplated, was, in point of fact, feasible, whenever permission could be obtained to undertake the work.

The approach of the one hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth seemed to offer the fitting opportunity.

Plans for proper rejoicings and for the due celebration of the period were already organizing; the claims of Philadelphia as the appropriate place were being duly set forth and urged; for was it not here that the event itself occurred which we were to celebrate? Did not Philadelphia still possess the very building within whose walls the American Magna Charta was adopted? Was it not here that the very Constitution itself was signed, and subsequently placed in practical operation during the administration of the first two Presidents? It certainly seemed now that Philadelphia could best sustain these claims by showing a worthy and discriminating appreciation of this historic edifice, and a readiness to appropriate it to the nation to which belonged the city of Penn.

Thus, at last, the likelihood that official sanction might be gained, and that possible coöperation might, upon such grounds, be secured to attain the end. Influenced by this belief, a formal application for the needful permission was addressed to Councilman John L. Shoemaker. This gentleman, as chairman of the Committee of Councils on the Centennial Celebration, was devoting every energy to insure success for an International Exposition of Industries at Philadelphia. He promptly appreciated the importance of the plan as submitted, not only intrinsically, but as an adjunct to the grand project he had

himself undertaken. Through his aid, both in Committee and on the floor of Councils, the necessary authority was granted by ordinance, together with the requisite appropriation for repairs and alterations.

Under the sanction of his Honor William S. Stokley, Mayor of Philadelphia, who has consistently fostered and protected the work of the committee appointed by him, the restoration of Independence Hall to its condition and appearance of 1776, is very nearly perfected, not only in its exterior, but in such equipment of the chamber as was contemporaneous with the events whose detail has herein been attempted.

"The Philadelphia Press" of the 8th June, 1875, gives an account of the last and most important acquisition to Independence Chamber.

"The Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall repaired to the chamber yesterday, where, in the presence of the Mayor, Hon. William S. Stokley, and a number of distinguished citizens, Col. Frank M. Etting, chairman of the committee, presented to the city, in presence of the Mayor, a Revolutionary relic of great value and significance. Col. Etting addressed his Honor as follows:—

"Just three years have elapsed since your Honor placed in position the chair in which you are now sitting as the corner-stone of the restoration of Independence Hall. With your aid we have been sedulously engaged in collecting all articles that were used herein in 1776, but no one surpasses in interest the relic I now hold in my hands. It is the original silver inkstand made by order of the Assembly of Pennsylvania one hundred and twenty-three years ago. It cost £25 16s., and was made by Philip Syng. It was used by Mr. Speaker Norris and all his successors, Speakers of the Assembly, till 1775, when this chamber and all its furniture and appliances were relinquished to the Continental Congress, by whom it continued in use during the period they held their sessions in Philadelphia. It supplied the ink to John Hancock when he affixed his bold signature to the Declaration of Independence, and to each member as he came up to sign that charter.

"When Washington occupied this chair and presided over the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, he, too, dipped his pen in this identical ink-pot. Transferred to Harrisburg, it was used by the Pennsylvania Legislature till 1849,¹ and its subsequent history is given in two let-

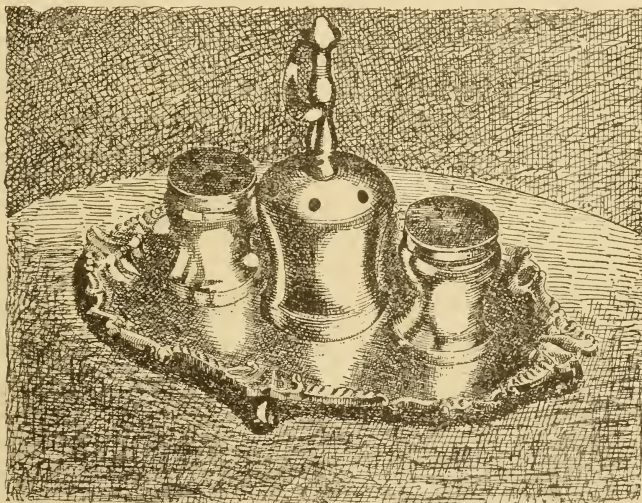
¹ The clue to its continued existence was furnished me by the late Hon. William M. Meredith, who, as Speaker of the House, had known it. Several years' search for it, however, proved fruitless, till, through Col. Russell Errett, it was discovered in the possession of Mr. Smull, a former clerk of the House.

The fact that Mr. Meredith should be the medium of its return, forms another strange coincidence, since it was his mother, the niece of Gouverneur Morris, who presented to my relation the original chair—"the corner-stone of the restoration."

ters, which I also hand you. With patriotic action, and in the most graceful way, his Excellency, Governor Hartranft, now gives this valuable relic to your safe keeping. He has wisely selected a day that is memorable in our annals. On this day ninety-nine years ago Richard Henry Lee rose in his place and offered his famous resolution: "That these Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States," and on the same day was appointed the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence." . . .

"The Mayor, on receiving the inkstand, said:—

"I accept this invaluable relic on behalf of the City of Philadelphia, and through you return to His Excellency Governor Hartranft the thanks of the corporation, and I desire, also, to express to you, sir, the chief mainspring of this work of restoration of this Hall, the thanks of the citizens of Philadelphia; I suggest to you, that in order that this relic may be properly exhibited and preserved, a fire-proof safe may be obtained in which to place it, large enough to hold the original Declaration of Independence, which, no doubt, will be eventually deposited with us."



THE INKSTAND.

"The Mayor received the inkstand, and deposited it upon the table where it was so long used. Whereupon Messrs. Farrell and Herring, who were among the spectators, stepped forward and assured his Honor that the safe should be furnished without any cost to the city.

"The following correspondence accompanied the inkstand : —

"EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
"HARRISBURG, PA., June 1, 1875.

"FRANK M. ETTING, Esq., *Chairman Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.*

"DEAR SIR, — In reply to your letter inviting my attention to the existence of 'the original silver inkstand used in signing the Declaration of Independence, which, ordered for the Assembly of Pennsylvania shortly after the occupation of their chamber in Philadelphia, was transferred with other portions of their furniture to Harrisburg,' I have the honor to say that the inkstand alluded to has this day been forwarded to you per express. The inkstand was kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Smull, with a letter containing its history,¹ which I enclose herewith, and I take great pleasure in transferring it to your custody to be restored to its old stand upon the table upon which the chart of our Independence was signed. .

"In forwarding the inkstand, as a citizen of Pennsylvania I cannot refrain from expressing to you my thanks for the zeal and industry you have displayed in your efforts to restore Independence Hall, and the extended and elaborate research you have made to establish the identity of the articles reclaimed.

"With great respect,

"I am your obedient servant,

"J. F. HARTMANFT."

¹ Mr. Smull, in returning this inkstand to the Governor, states : —

"In the year 1849 there was placed in my custody a small silver tray, containing an ink and sand-holder of the same material. At that time tradition held that this was the inkstand used by the President of the Continental Congress at the time the Declaration of American Independence was signed.

"I took great interest to obtain as much information as was possible to establish its identity, and made inquiries on the subject, during several years succeeding 1849, from then aged public men, and the result of my investigations resulted in convincing me of the identity of *this one* with *that* used by the first Congress.

"The late venerable Thomas H. Burrows, afterwards Superintendent of Common Schools, told me that he had made minute inquiries regarding this stand many years previously, and that he had no doubt that it was the same that held the ink used by the signers of the Declaration.

"The late Hon. Thomas Nicholson, who will be remembered as a man who required the most positive and conclusive evidence to convince his mind, was an enthusiastic believer in the fact that this was the 'Independence Inkstand.'

"One incident will show how much he felt on the subject. When Harrisburg was threatened by the rebel army in 1863, he came personally to me and said : 'If the rebels come into Harrisburg, be sure and hide in a safe place "Independence Inkstand."' This inkstand has been in my custody uninterruptedly ever since 1849, and I can vouch for it being the one referred to by the gentlemen I have named. It was used very many years prior to 1849, by Speakers of the House of Representatives."

The official Reports, submitted to the Mayor from time to time, recapitulate the changes made and proposed, as well as the condition of affairs modified and altered.

"We found the doors, cornices, wainscoting, and the architectural characteristics of the room completely concealed beneath a mass of pictures of every kind, while the floor contained the dilapidated furniture rejected by former Councils, and one of the windows was barricaded by the block of marble ordered by the city of Philadelphia as its contribution to the Washington National Monument. This last, under the sanction of your Honor and of Councils, we caused to be transmitted to its destination.

"The old 'Liberty Bell,' which had been taken from the cupola and placed within the chamber, we removed to the vestibule, suspending it from the original beam and scaffolding. (The latter having been discovered nearly intact in the steeple.) We deemed it appropriate to inscribe upon its base the *whole* Scriptural text, a part of which had been moulded upon the bell in 1753, as it, even then, so essentially predicted and ordained: first, 'Liberty throughout all the land,' and secondly, the CENTENNIAL celebration thereof. The whole has been enclosed by a plain iron railing, which circumstances showed to be essential to its preservation.

"We have replaced at the east end of the chamber the President's dais, in exact conformity with the contemporary description given upon the reception of the first French Minister to the Republic then struggling for its existence, and the identical chair and table used by Hancock are restored to their places thereupon. In conformity, also, with the cited authority, we have ranged six of the original chairs used by the Delegates in 1776 — two of which had been reclaimed as already stated, from Harrisburg, and the others have been presented to the city by Mrs. William Biddle, Mrs. E. A. Foggo, Mr. John J. Smith, Mr. C. C. Dunn; these chairs having been changed as to their covering, it is our design to make them assimilate. Two chairs which contain the original leather covering, the one deposited by the Chairman of your Committee, the other obtained from the Philosophical Society, though somewhat dilapidated, are required to be forever kept intact by their depositors, and have been placed upon the steps of the dais. None others in the original condition are found to be extant after the most diligent inquiry on the part of your Committee."

The Committee go on to state that they have ascertained the existence of five other chairs, undoubtedly authentic, though re-upholstered, and efforts were being made to persuade their owners to present

or deposit the same. If successful in this (and it has been accomplished since this report was written), "a sufficient number will thus," says the Committee, "be supplied to enable us to recall the sitting of the Congress of 1776, besides thus representing each of the original thirteen States. The original number of these chairs could not have exceeded *thirty-two*, that being the number of Representatives in the State Legislature, for whom these chairs were made. The other members of the Congress of 1776 must have been otherwise accommodated, though how, we cannot now determine."

"We have replaced the pillars which formerly sustained the ceiling of the Chamber by means of the precise description given by our venerable fellow citizen, Horace Binney, the only living man who positively remembers them, and whose description is fully confirmed by a fragment of the original still preserved in Germantown as a relic. To protect the Chamber and its furniture, we found it necessary to construct a light railing, so arranged, however, as to interfere with or mar as little as possible the general appearance of the Chamber. Additional support has been given to the rafters of the floor, while every precaution that seemed feasible, has been adopted to avoid danger of fire from flues, etc."

One of the most experienced insurance inspectors in Philadelphia has approved all that was done to the lower rooms. He pointed out certain changes in the roof and in the steeple as indispensable. Under the sanction of an ordinance these changes have been made. Iron ventilators to the Council Chamber have been substituted for the wooden ones, and a third superfluous shed upon the roof removed altogether. The loft, which was discovered to have been made a store-house for books and refuse household furniture, and which was accessible from adjoining roofs, has been cleared of its combustible contents, and absolutely closed to all unnecessary ingress.

The steeple, which had been long (and since the abandonment of bell-ringing, unnecessarily) occupied by a family carrying on all the domestic functions and avocations, has been vacated, — all fire and lights therein have been interdicted, and, indeed, rendered impossible, by the removal of the means, save only to light the city clock.

The unnecessary outlets to the cellar in the rear of the building have been closed, and its windows effectually guarded, and but one access provided and secured as it was originally.

In regard to the portraits to be placed in Independence Chamber, we have steadily adhered to the plan pointed out by our Chairman, as published in the "Penn Monthly." They could only be admitted



INDEPENDENCE CHAMBER, WESTERN SIDE,

(AFTER RESTORATION)

into the room in subordination, as to size, to the wainscoting, architectural adornments, etc., and only when absolutely *authenticated*. This has entailed a vast correspondence, but with results gratifying to your Committee, and evincive of the deep-seated patriotic feeling throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Thirteen portraits, only, of "the Signers" were found in the miscellaneous collection purchased by the city in 1854 at the auction sale of Peale's Museum; to these five had been added by Hon. John M. Read, Mrs. Drayton, and by three other parties not ascertained.

"The Committee were at first indetermined in the selection of those portraits entitled to admission to Independence Chamber. If only 'the Signers' were to be included — while the portraits of some men who took no part in the discussion or even the vote upon the question of Independence would have been admitted — such rule would have *excluded* Thomas Johnson, John Dickinson, Robert R. Livingston, and others; while to accept only the *Actors* in the drama would have militated against the popular verdict in favor of many whose *signatures* are affixed to the American Magna Charta, but who took no part in debate upon it, nor in its adoption. Under these circumstances we determined to place upon the walls, likenesses of all those men who *signed*, all who *voted upon*, and all who *debated* the question in this chamber, so far as they could be, or were, absolutely authenticated.

"We were pleased to find that John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, two of the then surviving signers, than whom no men were more prominent or better able to determine the value of their contemporaries, agreed in giving identically the same advice to Colonel Trumbull, when preparing to paint his historical picture of 'The Signing of the Declaration of Independence' for the Capitol. As we were not confined to one day or one scene in the illustration of the room, our action cannot be open to the charge of inconsistency or anachronism which must always stand against this famous painting.

"Twenty of the signers remain unrepresented on the walls, but of these *ten* never sat for their portraits, namely: John Morton, Caesar Rodney, Carter Braxton, John Hart, George Taylor, James Smith, Matthew Thornton, Button Gwinnett, John Penn, Lynan Hall, and, it is feared, Francis L. Lee. These are here enumerated, because counterfeit resemblances of many of them were manufactured a few years since, and have been recently disseminated by an enterprising individual in New York; one of these pictures at least has been copied in oil, presented to a State, enshrined in its capitol, and its use actually tendered to the Centennial Commission. These pictures, according to

the admission of their original publisher to the committee, were executed 'by a young English engraver. just then arrived, who received *carte-blanche* to produce them all on wood,' whereupon 'he took a room, furnished it with a barrel of ale and a quantity of tobacco pipes, and under the inspiration imparted by these, produced, *for the first time*, portraits of *all* the signers.' "

We have consulted with the descendants of several of these gentlemen as to the most appropriate and satisfactory way to perpetuate their memory in the chamber, and anticipate giving them the prominence in some form to which they are justly entitled. Thus only *ten* remain "absent and unaccounted for," but should we be as successful during our coming year as in the past, these will also "answer to their names," at our next muster.

LIST OF PORTRAITS.

1. JOHN HANCOCK,
The President of Congress of 1776, and from May 24th, 1775,
to 31st October, 1777. Peale.
2. RICHARD HENRY LEE, of Virginia,
The mover of the Resolution for Independence, President of
Congress from November 30, 1784, to June 5th, 1786. Peale.
3. BENJAMIN HARRISON, of Virginia,
The Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, who reported
the same. Lambdin, after Trumbull.
4. THOMAS JEFFERSON,
The Chairman of the Committee to draft, and Author of, the
Declaration of Independence. Peale.
5. ROGER SHERMAN, of Connecticut,
A Member of the Committee to Draft the Declaration of Inde-
pendence. Hicks, after Earle.
Presented by his grandson, William M. Evarts.
6. JOHN ADAMS,
The Seconder of the Resolution for Independence, Member of
the Committee to Draft the Declaration, and the "Colossus of
the Debate." Peale.
7. SAMUEL ADAMS, of Massachusetts,
The Pioneer of Independence — the Palimurns of the Re-
public. Outhank, after Copley.
Presented by George A. Simmons, on behalf of his wife and other
descendants of the Patriot.
8. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
A Member of the Committee to draft the Declaration of Inde-
pendence, etc. Etter, after Martin.

9. JOHN DICKINSON,
The great advocate of Constitutional rights, and Member of Congress, July, 1776, from Pennsylvania. Peale.
10. ROBERT MORRIS.
The great Financier of the Revolution, and Member of Congress, July, 1776, from Pennsylvania. Peale.
11. THOMAS MCKEAN,
Advocate of Independence, and Member of Congress, July, 1776, from Delaware, President of Congress from July 10 to November 4, 1781. Peale.
12. SAMUEL CHASE, of Maryland,
Advocate of Independence, and Member of Congress, July, 1776, from Maryland. Peale.
13. GEORGE WYTHE, of Virginia,
Advocate of Independence, and Member of Congress, July, 1776, from Virginia. Weir, after Trumbull.
14. JOSEPH HEWES, of North Carolina. Member of Congress, July, 1776, from North Carolina. Tiffany, from a *miniature*.
15. JOSIAH BARTLETT, of New Hampshire,
Member of Congress, July, 1776, from New Hampshire. Presented by his descendants.
16. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON, of New York,
A Member of the Committee to draft the Declaration of Independence. Pratt, after Stuart.
Presented by Clermont Livingston and others, the descendants.
17. THOMAS HEYWARD, Jr.
Member of Congress, July, 1776, from South Carolina. Presented by Nathaniel Heyward. Frazer, after Theus.
18. ELBRIDGE GERRY, of Massachusetts,
The earnest advocate of Independence in and out of Congress. Member of Congress, July, 1776, from Massachusetts.
19. CHARLES THOMPSON,
The permanent Secretary of Congress. Peale.
20. WILLIAM WHITE,
Chaplain to Congress. Peale.
21. WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
Member of Congress of 1776, from New Hampshire. After St. Memin.
22. ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Massachusetts.
23. STEPHEN HOPKINS,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Rhode Island. Lambdin, after Trumbull.¹

¹ Trumbull's sketch was made from the son, upon representation of the family that the likeness was so great as to justify it.

24. WILLIAM ELLERY,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Rhode Island.
Waugh, from Trumbull's original sketch.
25. SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Connecticut. President of
Congress, September 28, 1779, to July 9, 1781. Peale.
26. WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Connecticut.
Sawyer, from a family portrait by Trumbull.
27. OLIVER WOLCOTT,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Connecticut.
Lambdin, after Trumbull.
28. WILLIAM FLOYD,
Member of Congress of 1776, from New York. Henry, after Polk.
29. PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
Member of Congress of 1776, from New York. Peale.
30. FRANCIS LEWIS,
Member of Congress of 1776, from New York.
31. LEWIS MORRIS,
Member of Congress of 1776, from New York. Flagg, after Trumbull.
Presented by his descendant, Harry G. Morris.
32. RICHARD STOCKTON,
Member of Congress of 1776, from New Jersey.
Conarroe, after ———
33. JOHN WITHERSPOON,
Member of Congress of 1776, from New York. Peale.
34. FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
Member of Congress of 1776, from New Jersey. Peale.
35. ABRAHAM CLARK,
Member of Congress of 1776, from New Jersey.
Lambdin, after Trumbull.
36. BENJAMIN RUSH,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Pennsylvania. Peale.
37. JAMES WILSON,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Pennsylvania.
Wharton, after a miniature by Jas. Peale.
38. GEORGE ROSS,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Pennsylvania.
Wharton, after West.
39. GEORGE CLYMER,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Pennsylvania.
Marchant, after ———
40. GEORGE READ,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Delaware. Sully, after Stuart.

41. THOMAS STONE,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Maryland. Mayer, after Peale.
Presented by the State of Maryland.
42. WILLIAM PACA,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Maryland. Mayer, after Peale.
Presented by the State of Maryland.
43. CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Maryland. Peale.
44. THOMAS NELSON, JR.,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Virginia.
45. WILLIAM HOOPER,
Member of Congress of 1776, from North Carolina. Lambdin, after Trumbull.
46. EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
Member of Congress of 1776, from South Carolina.
Presented by Joshua Francis Fisher. Wharton, after Trumbull.
47. THOMAS LYNCH, JR.
Member of Congress of 1776, from South Carolina.
Presented by the Artist. Miss Anna Lea, after ———
48. ARTHUR MIDDLETON,
Member of Congress of 1776, from South Carolina.
Presented by the Artist. Wharton, after West.
49. GEORGE WALTON,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Georgia. Waugh, after original miniature by James Peale.
50. THOMAS JOHNSON,
Member of Congress of 1776, from Maryland. Mayer, after Peale.
Presented by the State of Maryland.
51. JOHN ROGERS. (vacant.)
52. THOMAS WILLING. (v. caut.)

Such portraits of the Presidents of the Old Continental Congress, not included among the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and of distinguished Officers of the Revolutionary Army and Navy as could be secured, have been placed along the surbase of Independence Chamber, subordinated to the general plan.

53. PEYTON RANDOLPH,
President, 5th September to 21st October, 1774, and
10th May to 23d May, 1775. Peale.
54. HENRY LAURENS,
President 1st November, 1777, to 9th December, 1778. Peale.
55. JOHN HANSON,
President 5th November, 1781, to 3d November, 1782. Peale.

56. ELIAS BOUDINOT,
President 4th November, 1782, to 2d November, 1783.
57. THOMAS MIFFLIN,
President 3d November, 1783, to 29th November, 1784. Peale.
58. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR,
President 2d February, 1787, to 21st January, 1788. Peale.
59. CYRUS GRIFFIN,
President 21st January, 1788, to 1789.
After an original miniature by Sully, taken in 1801.
60. GEORGE WASHINGTON,
The Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Original, by James Peale.

MAJOR-GENERALS.

61. ARTEMAS WARD¹ Massachusetts . 17th June, 1775.
62. PHILIP SCHUYLER New York . . 19th June, 1775.
63. ISRAEL PUTNAM Connecticut . . 19th June, 1775.
64. RICHARD MONTGOMERY New York . . 9th December, 1775.
65. HORATIO GATES Virginia . . 16th May, 1776.
- 65½. JOHN SULLIVAN New Hampshire . 9th August, 1775.
66. NATHANAEL GREENE Rhode Island . 9th August, 1776.
67. WM. ALEXANDER (Lord Stirling) New Jersey . 19th February, 1777.
68. BENJAMIN LINCOLN Massachusetts . 19th February, 1777.
69. MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE France . . 31st July, 1777.
70. BARON DE KALB France . . 15th Sept., 1777.
71. BARON DE STEUBEN Prussia . . 5th May, 1778.
72. WILLIAM SMALLWOOD Maryland . . 15th Sept., 1780.
73. L. LE BEGUE DU PORTAIL France . . 16th Dec., 1781.
74. HENRY KNOX Massachusetts . 22d March, 1782.

BRIGADIER-GENERALS.

75. CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN S. Carolina . . 16th Sept., 1776.
76. LACHLAN MCINTOSH Georgia . . 16th Sept., 1776.
77. ANTHONY WAYNE Pennsylvania . 21st February, 1777.
78. JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM Rhode Island . 21st February, 1777.
- 78½. PETER MULENBERG Virginia . . 21st February, 1777.
79. GEORGE CLINTON New York . . 25th March, 1777.
80. JOSEPH REED Pennsylvania . 12th May, 1777.
81. JAMES WILKINSON (Brevet) Maryland . . 6th November, 1777.
82. DANIEL MORGAN Virginia . . 13th October, 1780.
83. OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS Maryland . . 9th May, 1782.
84. JOSEPH WARREN Massachusetts State Troops.
85. THOMAS SUMTER South Carolina State Troops.

¹ Nearly all of these portraits are originals by Charles Wilson Peale. The State given is that of which a resident at date of appointment.



THE HALL OF THE OLD STATE HOUSE.

(AFTER RESTORATION)

86. Colonel JOHN EAGER HOWARD	Maryland.
87. Colonel WM. A. WASHINGTON	Virginia.
88. Colonel HARRY LEE	Virginia.
89. COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU	France.
90. Commodore JOHN PAUL JONES	Virginia.
91. Commodore JOSHUA BARNEY	Maryland.
92. Commodore NICHOLAS BIDDLE	Pennsylvania.
93. Commodore JOHN BARRY	Ireland.

Independence Chamber is thus kept *intact*, to represent the year 1776 and its associations.

The whole front of the building, bricks, mortar, even the marble trimmings and ornaments, had been daubed with paint, which many practical builders declared it impossible to remove. A mechanic was at last found who believed that this offensive innovation could be gotten rid of, and after a successful experiment with the base, the bricks of the entire front were finally disclosed, as well as the marble, which had lost its identity under its coating of red.

The interior, with equal impartiality, had been treated with coat after coat of paint. The ornamental carving of the vestibule and staircase, all done by hand, and once the pride of the early Pennsylvanians, and the admiration of every visitor of the last century, were obscured by a similar process of a contractor's efflorescence. By the careful use of acids, and of purifying fire, the overlying coats of paint have been removed. The delicate tracery of the panels and of the stairway is again made visible. An experienced carpenter has supplemented the original work, where time or relic hunters had laid their vandal hands, and protection afforded against the *cacoethes scribendi* with the finger, or the heel of the boot-black, or of the irrepressible lounge about the premises.

These purposes were set out in the first annual report of the Committee, and having previously overcome the impediments thrown in their way by some of the former occupants of the Chamber, they go on to say :—

"The western room having been finally yielded to us, we proceeded to initiate the plan for a NATIONAL MUSEUM. The chamber was thoroughly renovated, and the decayed floor replaced by a tiled pavement similar in style to that laid some years since in Independence Chamber.

"With the assistance of the Board of Lady Managers we set ourselves to the work of collecting and arranging everything that seemed adapted for the illustration or commemoration of the past. The chamber itself was formerly the Judicial Hall of the Colony of Pennsylvania, where Justices Logan, Allen,

Chew, and McKean, gave dignity and weight to the Supreme Bench. This room we therefore dedicate to the memories of these men, and to illustrate the history of our State from its foundation, in 1682, down to the epoch of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, in 1789, when it merged into the 'United States of America,' including as a *specialité* all that pertains to the Framing of the Constitution of the United States, such as portraits of the Signers thereof, their manuscript letters and other memorials and relics.

"Receptacle cases, constructed upon a plan devised by the Committee, have been prepared, and are already partially filled; the one with relics and memorials of distinguished men of the period from 1682 to 1787, and the other with pamphlets, wearing apparel, newspapers, and everything illustrative of the daily life in America during the same period; while appropriate platforms are reserved to display furniture once in use by the patriots of that day.

"Mr. Joseph Harrison's public spirit (confirmed since his death by Mrs. Harrison) has enabled us to present a synopsis of this part of our plan by a series of paintings. Mr. Harrison deposited the celebrated painting, by West, of the great Treaty, 'never sworn to and never broken.' Over this picture it is our wish to place a portrait of CHARLES II.¹ (whose royal grant to Penn enabled the latter to set an example of 'peace on earth and good-will towards men'), and next in order chronologically as our Ruler of the time — whatever faults may be ascribed to him, always the true friend of Penn — JAMES II. After him we have the portraits, in chronological order (thanks again to Mr. Joseph Harrison), of King WILLIAM, Queens MARY and ANNE, and Kings GEORGE I., II., and III., with whom terminated the royal authority in this country, and whose portraits are, in our opinion, indispensable to the illustration and understanding of our local history and government.

"The Charter of incorporation of the City of Philadelphia, with the original signature of the Founder, and with the great seal of Pennsylvania appended, is encased appropriately, and displayed between the likeness of the Grantor and the commemorative painting of the Treaty which made it feasible.

"The celebrated Non-Importation Resolutions of October 25th, 1765, signed by three hundred and seventy-five of our merchants and traders (fac-simile), constitutes an appropriate pendant in juxtaposition with the portrait of the sovereign whose authority over Pennsylvania and her sister colonies, it was destined to form the entering wedge to sever."

Among all the acquisitions to the National Museum, no one is of more intrinsic value than the portrait of William Penn, taken at a time when the Founder of Pennsylvania was in the full maturity of his powers. The existence of such a painting, though mentioned in a rare county history of Durham, England, seems to have been entirely

¹ Through the active exertions of Col. John W. Forney, who has always been the kind friend of the Museum, an original portrait of Charles II., by Lely, has been loaned by Mr. William Thompson.



THE NATIONAL MUSEUM.

EASTERN SIDE.

unknown to any Pennsylvanian, until Mr. Samuel L. Smedley, learning of it, procured from the original a small photograph, which by accident was seen by the Chairman of the Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall. Efforts repeatedly made by letter, to secure a copy, were disregarded, but through the intervention of a friend, who was asked to call in person and to make the request on behalf of the citizens of Pennsylvania, the present careful copy was finally procured and placed beside West's painting of the Treaty. The original artist is Francis Place, who painted the portrait from life shortly after William Penn's second marriage in 1696, at the age of fifty-two. The copy is made by Henry J. Wright, who certifies to its entire accuracy in every detail. Its companion picture is a copy by the same hand, from the original portrait of Mrs. Penn — Hannah Callowhill, — painted by Place at the same time.

Of the Framers of the Constitution of the United States, the following portraits have been secured : —

GEORGE WASHINGTON	Original by Rembrandt Peale.
JOHN LANGDON	Original by Sharpless.
RUFUS KING	Original by C. W. Peale.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON	Original by C. W. Peale.
ROBERT MORRIS	Original by C. W. Peale.
JARED INGERSOLL	George Lambdin.
GOVERNEUR MORRIS	Marchant, after Sully.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON	Original by Sharpless.
LUTHER MARTIN	Tiffany, after ———
JAMES MCHENRY	Original by Sharpless.
JAMES MADISON	Miss Drinker, after Stuart.
GEORGE MASON	Herbert Welsh, after Stuart.
RICHARD D. SPAIGHT	{ Original by St. Memin, and
	{ Original by Sharpless.

The following miscellaneous Portraits (originals) by Sharpless : —

GEORGE WASHINGTON.	HORATIO GATES.
JOHN ADAMS.	DOLLY P. MADISON.
THOMAS JEFFERSON.	AARON BURR.
JAMES CLINTON.	BUSHROD WASHINGTON.
JAMES MONROE.	JAMES WILKINSON.
NOAH WEBSTER.	ANTHONY WAYNE.
JAMES KENT.	ELIAS DAYTON.
R. R. LIVINGSTON.	WILLIAM JOHNSON.
DEWITT CLINTON.	ASHBEL GREEN.
FISHER AMES.	BENJAMIN RUSH.

Members of the Continental Congress — 1774 to 1789 — excluding those who were in Congress June 7th, to November, 1776 : —

MATTHEW TILGHMAN.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

ARTHUR LEE.

NATHANIEL RAMSEY.

JONATHAN BAYARD SMITH.

JONATHAN D. SERGEANT.

DAVID RAMSAY.

The following Miscellaneous Portraits from Peale's Museum : —

JOHN PAGE	Governor of Virginia
ROBERT FULTON	The Inventor of Steamboat.
WILLIAM BARTRAM	The Botanist.
DAVID RITTENHOUSE	The Astronomer.
THOMAS PAINE	The Author of "Common Sense."
SAMUEL SMITH	Colonel Revolutionary War.
TIMOTHY PICKERING	Colonel Revolutionary War.
THOMAS FOREST	Colonel Revolutionary War.
—— TENNENT	Colonel Revolutionary War.
M. DU CAMBRAY	Colonel Revolutionary War.
WILLIAM RUSH	The Carver in wood.
CHEVALIER DE CHASTILLUX	The Traveller.
COMTE DE VOLNEY	The Traveller.
CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE	French Minister.

Towards the completion of the plan the present rooms form but the nucleus.

The Councils of the City still occupy the second story of the building. They have accorded permission to the Committee on restoration of Independence Hall, to use the walls of the chambers in the second story. In conformity with their plans, on these are being arranged as rapidly as they can be procured, Portraits of —

The Presidents of the United States.

The Vice Presidents.

Cabinet officers.

Speakers of the House of Representatives.

Prominent Statesmen of the Country from 1789.

When these chambers shall be vacated by the Municipal Government, upon the completion of the City Buildings at Centre Square, it is intended to arrange glass cases and other appropriate receptacles for every variety of souvenirs of the epoch since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, down to the period only, probably, of the War of 1812.

The plan designed by the Committee, provides for making the present wings correspond on the exterior with the structures that adjoined

the main building in 1776, as seen in the plate (page 13), and from which even now they do not essentially differ; to reconstruct the interior with a blank wall, and while lighting from above, to arrange for access thereto only from the State House proper. The interiors to be used as portrait and picture galleries, and to be made contributory to the National Museum thus established; the interest the Committee reports is daily growing, as knowledge of the purposes is disseminated, and they instance the fact that the average number of visitors during any one month was five hundred and forty daily.

The building at Sixth and Chestnut streets, whose history has been already traced, and identified with the inauguration of the National Government, has been appropriately marked by a tablet recording its associations. This building should be kept in its original state and used by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for its collections and meetings, and the corresponding corner building at Fifth and Chestnut streets be surrendered to the American Philosophical Society upon such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed upon between that body and the City of Philadelphia.

The purposes of these societies, the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge, antiquarian and philosophical, will not only thus be subserved, but the vast materials already collected and preserved by them would increase and be increased by being thus concurrently rendered accessible to the public, but these two societies, thus resident on the very spot, with interests identical, and, as joint trustees of the whole Square, would then assume an abiding and consistent obligation which could not fail to be advantageous to themselves and beneficial to the public interests. Presumably, composed of men the most scientific, the most intellectual, the most conservative as well as the most cosmopolitan among the citizens of Philadelphia, there would then be secured permanently a *guarantee* of the exercise of the soundest discretion in the adornment and conservation of the building, above all others, the most valuable in our country.

No appeal has yet been made to the people of the United States for aid on this behalf. The city of Philadelphia has been asked, and did promptly accord the first year \$3,000, and the second year \$3,500, for the limited repairs which, under the circumstances, the Committee felt it indispensable to ask. Individuals in Massachusetts, in New York, in New Jersey, in Virginia, have generously responded to the personal requests made by members of the Committee and of the Board of Managers, while the State of Maryland itself has set an example of contributing by legislative action to Independence Chamber and to the National Museum, the portraits of the patriots of that

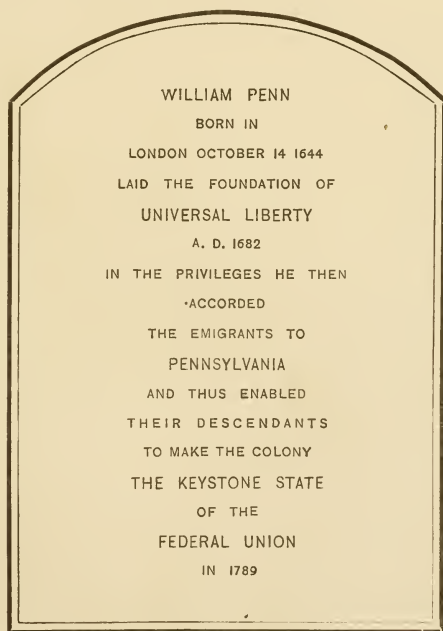
State, together with a handsome emblazonment of its heraldic device and seal of State. In transmitting these the Governor expressed his high "appreciation of the endeavor to restore and preserve intact Independence Hall as it was in 1776, and also of the plan of the Committee in establishing the National Museum, which, if accomplished as designed, will make the old Hall of Independence the Mecca of Liberty, where every American can renew his veneration for the illustrious Founders of our country."

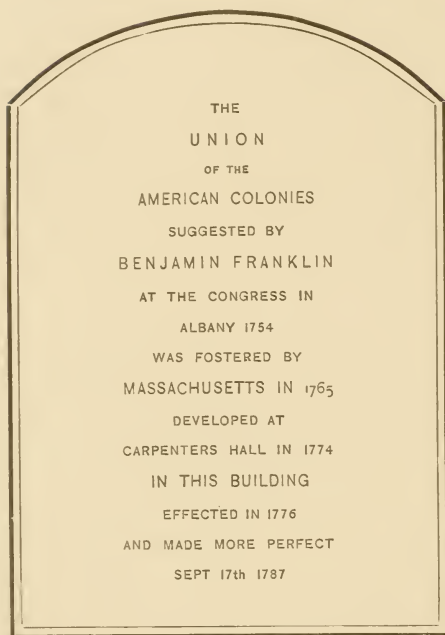
It is hoped that not only all the original Thirteen States of the Union, but all those which have since matriculated, will thus establish an ownership within these walls, their living citizens coming themselves annually to renew and brighten the chain of mutual friendship, and enjoining it upon their descendants to keep alive the national association at this, their Alma Mater of Liberty.

Let every State in its sovereign capacity, let every American citizen individually, assist in justifying this inscription, soon — now — to be placed upon a conspicuous panel in Independence Hall: —

THE STATE HOUSE
OF
PENNSYLVANIA
CONSECRATED
BY THE MEMORIES OF
THE EVENTS THAT OCCURRED
WITHIN AND UNDER THE SHADOW OF ITS WALLS
IS DEDICATED
BY THE CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA
TO THEIR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN OF THE
UNITED STATES
AS A
PERPETUAL MONUMENT
TO THE
FOUNDERS OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
ON THE
NATIONAL CENTENARY ANNIVERSARY
JULY 4 1876

The inscriptions, upon the four tablets in the vestibule, were elaborated carefully to express all the historical incidents which the lower floor was intended, especially, to realize and to commemorate. Thus, while the Museum Chamber illustrates the period of 1682 to 1787, the panels on either side of the door of entrance present, in letters of gold—the one, William Penn's Record and his establishment of Universal Liberty traced to its accomplishment in 1789, when the colony, which he had founded, became an absolute sovereignty as the Keystone of the Republic; the inscription, on the other, traces the germ of Union from its conception, one hundred and twenty-two years ago, to its "more perfect" development in 1787, when the present Constitution of the United States was framed in this Hall.





The opposite chamber, appropriated exclusively to "1776," containing portraits and other memorials of those men who participated in the achievement of independence, exhibits corresponding panels on either side. On one of these the concise history of Independence,¹ and

¹ After a visit to Independence Hall in December, 1875, and a careful examination of these inscriptions, Mr. George Bancroft writes to the author: "I had never seen the Resolutions of the Philadelphia Merchants of October 25, 1765. Upon my recent visit to Independence Hall, I learned of their existence when you pointed out to me the tablet you had erected, giving specifically the dates of the Philadelphia, the New York, and the Boston Resolutions. Though you did not solicit or even hint at any alteration in my existing edition, I immediately upon my return made the appropriate insertion in my new edition of the History of the United States, thus giving to Philadelphia the priority in point of time that is her due.

"I send you an advance proof sheet. Boston I leave out, as you say it was silent till December 3rd. I take for granted your date is right, though it makes Boston more than a month behind New York.

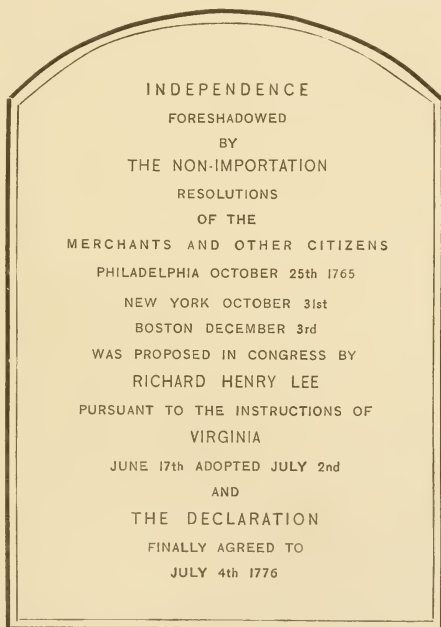
"My visit with you to Independence Hall gave to my final hours in Philadelphia a charm which will not pass away."

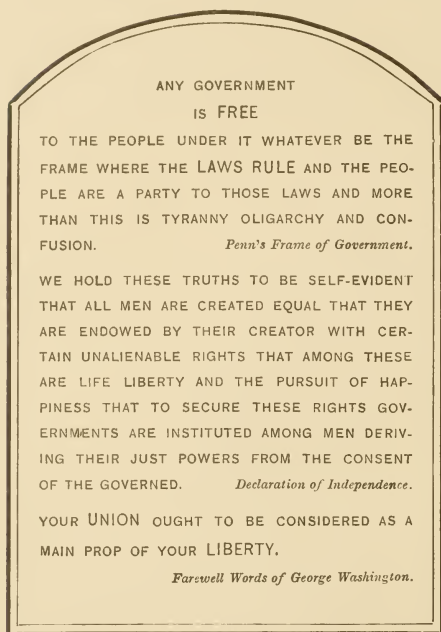


THE VESTIBULE OF INDEPENDENCE HALL.

AFTER RESTORATION.

on the other Penn's noble enunciation of that wherein a free government consists, the more elaborate assertion of individual rights, from the Declaration of Independence, and Washington's fiat of one of the essentials of their preservation in this country, namely, Absolute Union of the States of North America as essential to the maintenance of their Liberties.





These are the principles, these are the events, these are the patriots whose memory it is sought to perpetuate, in the full belief that their practical teachings will influence the American citizen of to-day.

The Hall of Independence and the National Museum, are of little avail unless they subserve the purposes of object-instruction, an instruction not limited to producing familiarity with the naked events of history or of individuals, but extending into the higher field of education, where respect, awe, and reverence for the great and good never fail to inspire emulation; thus teaching by example and by the honor secured, — *How good a thing it is to LIVE for one's country.*

May not, by such means, the time be hastened when the people of the United States, now rapidly merging into *slaves* of party, a slavery worse than ever otherwise existed on this continent, will throw aside the trammels imposed by the present prostitution of the name of *Freedom*? Odd as it may seem, the words of William Penn, the monarchist, the friend of the last two of the Stuarts who ruled by royal right divine,

—his words to-day are more truly democratic, state more accurately the principles of a free Republic, than can be found in the modern platforms of "Democrats" or "Republicans," or can be discovered in the actions of their leading apostles.

Periodically are false gods erected for our homage by rings, caucuses, or other combinations, and by the very dregs of the people, under the pretense that this constitutes a free government, thus trailing in the dust the great names of Washington, of Adams, of Clay, and of Webster on one side, or of Samuel Adams, of Jefferson, and of Jackson on the other. And what do we—the sovereign people of America? We periodically do fall down and worship these idols, or pass by on the other side, to attend to our *own* business.

It may be designed for us to pass through trial and through tribulation, like the chosen people of old, but may we not learn in the mean time,—and in no place more practically than in what we are fond of calling our Temple of Liberty,—that what the founders of this Republic really toiled and fought for was, self-government, the Rule of the Best citizens of America,—not the Rule of the Worst. Neither Democracy nor Republicanism originally taught that victory was to be gained *for* spoils, nor an independent government created in order to establish offices in the city, state, or national gift for the maintenance of the political huckster.

The precepts of our national creed should not be laid aside for mere Fourth of July speeches, or worse, relinquished to the use and exposition of the bread-seeking politician. Their living spirit should form part of our daily lives; every man, woman, and child who runs should read and ponder, each for himself, this enunciation of William Penn, expounded by the framers of our Magna Charta and now inscribed in letters of gold upon the tablets over against Independence Chamber. Let every American teach these words diligently unto his children; think of them when he lieth down and when he riseth up and when he walketh by the wayside, and write them as a sign upon the door-posts of his house, and upon his gates,—thus may he learn

PRO DEO ET PRO PATRIA—VIVERE.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF THE SIGNERS OF THE NON-IMPORTATION RESOLUTIONS OF THE MERCHANTS AND OTHERS.

OCTOBER 25, 1765.

Alphabetically arranged by SARAH E. WINCHESTER, Custodian of the National Museum.

A.

ADCOCK. See PEYTON
ALEXANDER, JAMES
ALLEN, ANDREW
ALLEN, JOHN
ALLEN & TURNER
ALLISON, WILLIAM
ARMITAGE, JUN., BENJA
ARMITT, JOHN

B.

BACHE, RICH^d
BACON, DAVID
BAKER, JOSEPH
BALDWIN, JOHN
BALL, WILLIAM
BANKSON, AND^w
BARCLAY. See CARSON
BARNARD & JUGIZ
BARTRAM, ISAAC & MOSES
BARTRAM & DUNDAS
BARTRAM & LENNOX
BASS, ROBERT
BATHO, CHAS.
BAYARD, JOHN
BAYLY, JOHN
BAYNTON, WHARTON & MORGAN
BELL, JOHN
BENEZET, DAN^l
BENEZET, JAMES
BENEZET, PHILIP
BEVERIDGE, DAVID

BICKLEY, ABRA.
BIDDLE, CLEMENT
BIDDLE, OWEN
BINGHAM. See STAMPER
BLAIR. See MURRAY
BOND, PHENIAS, SAM. MIFFLIN for
BOND, THOS.
BOND, JR., THOS.
BOOTH, BENJAMIN
BOWE, HUGH
BOYLE, JOHN
BRADFORD, CORN^l
BRADFORD, W^m
BRECHELL, ANDREAS
BRINGHURST, JOHN
BROWN, ELIJAH
BROWNE, JONA.
BRYAN, GEO.
BRYAN, WILLIAM
BRYON, JOHN
BUDDEN, JAMES
BUDDEN, RICHARD
BUNTING, SAMUEL
BURGE, SAMUEL
BUSH, MATHIAS

C.

CADWALADER, JNO. & SAM^l
CADWALADER, SAMUEL
CADWALADER, THOS.
CALDWELL, W^m & AND^w
CARMICK, STEPHEN
CARPENTER, THOMAS

CARRUTHERS, SAMUEL
 CARSON, BARCLAY & MITCHELL
 CHARLTON, THOS.
 CHEESMAN, SAMUEL
 CHEVALIER, JNO. & PETER
 CHEW, BENJAMIN
 CHEW, JOHN
 CLAMPEFER, WM
 CLAYPOOLE, JAMES
 CLAYPOOLE, JOSEPH
 CLAYTON, JOHN
 CLIFFORD, THOS.
 CLYMER, GEO.
 COLLINS, STEPHEN
 CONYNGHAM & NESBITT
 CORRY, WM & SAML
 COTTRINGER, JOHN
 COURTENAY, HER^s
 COX, ISAAC
 COX, JOHN
 COX, JUN., JOHN
 COXE, CHAS.
 COXE & TURMAN
 CRAIG, J.
 CRAIG, WM

D.

DAVIES, BENJA
 DAVIS, GEO.
 DEAN, JOSEPH
 DESHLER, DAVID
 DEVINE, MAGDALEN
 DICAS, THOMAS
 DICKINSON, JOHN
 DICKINSON, PHILN.
 DONNALDSON, HUGH
 DOWELL, WILLIAM
 DOWERS & YORKE
 DRINKER, JAMES
 DRINKER, JUN., JOHN
 DUCHE, JACOB
 DUNCAN. See STEWART
 DUNDAS. See BARTRAM

E.

EDDY, JAMES
 EDWARDS. See WISHART
 EMLN, JUN., GEO.
 EMLN, HUDSON
 EVANS, JONA.
 EVE, OSWELL

F.

FALCONER, WILLIAM
 FALKNER, LESTER

FISHER, SAML
 FISHER, WILLM
 FISHER & SON, JOSHUA
 FLANAGAN, JOHN
 FLEESON, PLUNKETT
 FOOTMAN, RICH^d & PETER
 FORBES, HUGH
 FOULKE, CALEB
 FOULKE, JUDAH
 FOX, JOS.
 FRANCIS, TENCH
 FRANKS, DAVID
 FRAZER, PERSIFOR
 FRY, WM STORRS
 FULLER, B.
 FULLERTON, JOHN
 FULTON, JAMES.

G.

GARDNER, THEO.
 GIBBS, BENJA
 GIBSON, JOHN
 GILBERT. See KEARNEY
 GLENHOLME & CO., OWEN
 GLENTWORTH, GEORGE
 GRAFF. See HUBLEY
 GRATZ, BARNARD
 GRATZ, MICHAEL
 GRAY, MARCY

H.

HAINES, REUBEN
 HALL, DAVID
 HARBESON, BENJAMIN
 HARDIE, ROBERT
 HARDING, JAMES
 HARMAN. See NEAVE
 HARRIS, FRANCIS
 HARRIS, ROBERT
 HARRISON, HENRY
 HART, JOHN
 HARTLEY, JAMES
 HARVEY, JAMES
 HEAD, JOHN
 HEATON, JOHN
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STUART, JAMES
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ZANE, JONATHAN, — ABEL JAMES "signs
 for"
 ZEST, JOHN
 ZWEIGELL, ANDREW

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Alphabetically arranged.

ADAMS, JOHN	LYNCH, JR., THOMAS
ADAMS, SAMUEL	McKEAN, THOMAS
BARTLETT, JOSIAH	MIDDLETON, ARTHUR
BRAXTON, CARTER	MORRIS, LEWIS
CARROLL, CHARLES OF CARROLLTON	MORRIS, ROBERT
CHASE, SAMUEL	MORTON, JOHN
CLARK, ABRAHAM	NELSON, JR., THOMAS
CLYMER, GEORGE	PACA, WILLIAM
ELLERY, WILLIAM	PAINE, ROBERT TREAT
FLOYD, WILLIAM	PENN, JOHN
FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN	READ, GEORGE
GERRY, ELBRIDGE	RODNEY, CÆSAR
GWINNETT, BUTTON	ROSS, GEORGE
HALL, LYMAN	RUSH, BENJAMIN
HANCOCK, JOHN	RUTLEDGE, EDWARD
HARRISON, BENJAMIN	SHERMAN, ROGER
HART, JOHN	SMITH, JAMES
HEWES, JOSEPH	STOCKTON, RICHARD
HEYWARD, JR., THOMAS	STONE, THOMAS
HOOPER, WILLIAM	TAYLOR, GEORGE
HOPKINS, STEPHEN	THORNTON, MATTHEW
HOPKINSON, FRANCIS	WALTON, GEORGE
HUNTINGTON, SAMUEL	WHIPPLE, WILLIAM
JEFFERSON, THOMAS	WILLIAMS, WILLIAM
LEE, FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT	WILSON, JAMES
LEE, RICHARD HENRY	WITHERSPOON, JOHN
LEWIS, FRANCIS	WOLCOTT, OLIVER
LIVINGSTON, PHILIP	WYTHE, GEORGE

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